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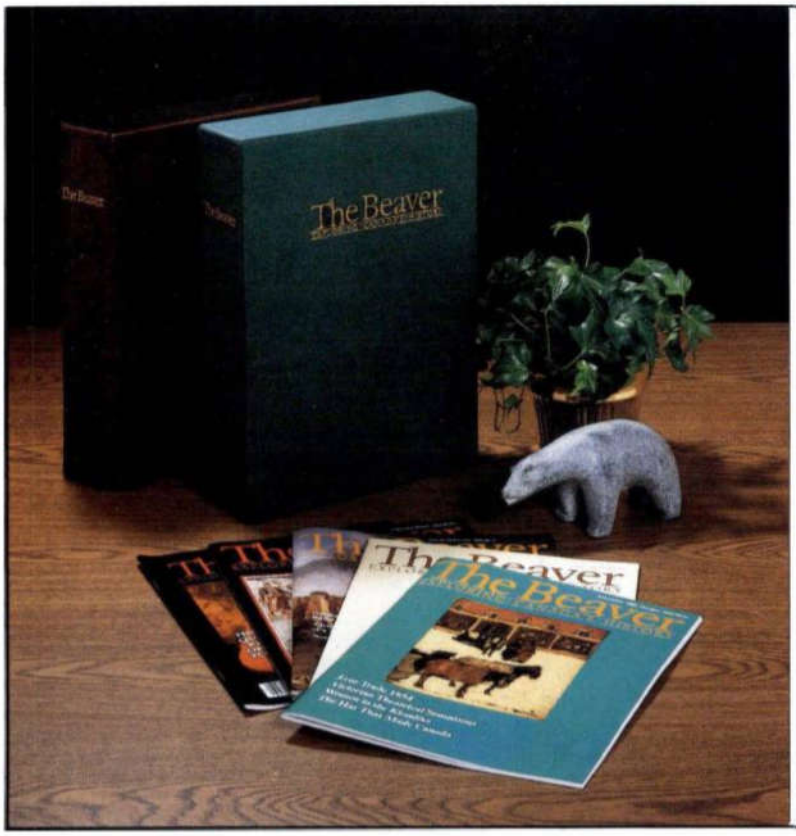

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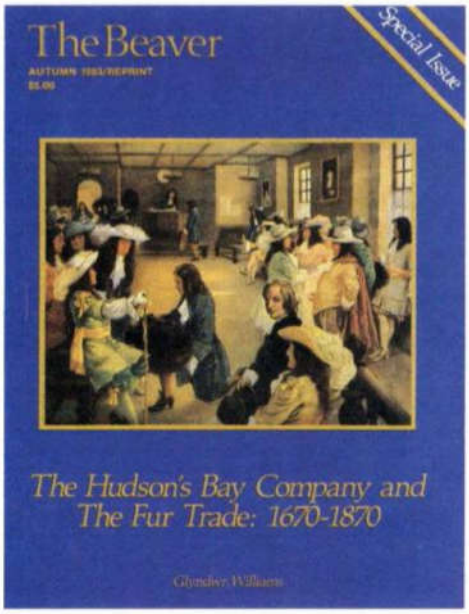

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE FUR TRADE 1670-1870

By GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

86 pages. Illustrated

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The Beaver

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All Our Yesterdays

The very first issue of *The Beaver*, published 70 years ago in October 1920, was a far cry from the magazine you are now holding in your hands. Over time *The Beaver* has gradually evolved into Canada's journal of popular history with subscribers all over the world. In October 1920 it was quite a different sort of magazine, although there was an element of history in that first issue in articles about the early days of the Hudson's Bay Company. After 70 years even the more mundane items in that first issue have taken on historic interest. They give us an intriguing glimpse of a mode of life and attitudes in a Canada that is long-vanished.

The Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 was celebrating the anniversary of its foundation in the reign of Charles II and *The Beaver* arrived on the scene in time to report on the celebrations and ceremonies held at various HBC locations across the country to mark the great event.

The Hudson's Bay Company, although it was 250 years old in 1920, was still inexperienced in the area of publicity and self-promotion. The Company had matured in an era when it was considered unseemly to blow your own horn too loudly, but such a celebration seemed to call for something a bit out of the ordinary. With this in mind, the Company had turned to an American, Clifton Moore Thomas, an advertising man from Chicago, to handle publicity and public relations in the anniversary year. It was to have been a short-term contract, but Thomas liked the idea of working for an old chartered company and he contrived to create a permanent position for himself at the Canadian headquarters in Winnipeg.

Thomas proposed the creation of a publicity office, headed by him, to look after HBC advertising and to control the "dissemination of propaganda to meet exigencies of trade and encroachment of opposition . . ." He also proposed the creation of a Company "house organ" or staff magazine, which he would be happy to edit.

The idea of a Company "house organ" had been talked of before, especially in what was then known as the Fur Trade Department. A magazine, it was suggested, would help to link the far-flung employees in remote posts across the northern part of the nation. Fur traders and Company old-timers could also contribute articles and letters about their interesting experiences in the hinterland. Everybody liked the idea and Thomas had the first issue off the press before the end of the anniversary year.

The first issue of *"The Beaver*, a Journal of Progress" featured on its cover a sober black and white portrait of Hudson's Bay Company governor Sir Robert Molesworth Kindersley and included a fulsome tribute to him on page 10 in an item headed, simply, "Our Governor". The governor may have been surprised to read that the idea for *The Beaver* had been his alone and he may even have blushed to read what followed: "Worthy successor to a distinguished line of Governors, KINDERSLEY filled to the full even the ideals which our Indians hold regarding the fit personage of the Company's chief." The new editor was clearly taking no chances. Warming to his topic he continued: "Servants of the Company heard with astonishment from our Governor's own lips that he was not to the manor born, BUT A SELF-MADE MAN, having put his foot upon the first rung of the ladder of success in an English shipping house." Sir Robert's visit to the Canadian outposts in the 250th anniversary year had been a kind of royal visit, and the editor of *The Beaver*, for one, was grateful.

Celebrations of the event were held at HBC stores and posts across the West and throughout the Northland and the premiere issue of *The Beaver* was full of reports of banquets, pageants and sporting events held to mark the occasion.

"At Edmonton," it was reported, "ideal weather favored the Pageant Celebrations. As one old Indian remarked to a member of the committee, God looked favorably upon the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians. Such a coincidence was remarkable, as it rained almost every day up to the time of the Pageant and commenced again the day after."

There was a large parade at Edmonton, with floats and horses, Indians and ox carts and HBC people suddenly began to realize that the Company had had quite a lot to do with Canada's history.

History was emphasized again in the pageant that depicted scenes from the HBC story. Scene one showed the signing of the charter and featured Mr. O.M. Kennedy as King Charles, Mr. H.P. Stower as Prince Rupert and Mr. J.D. McLean as a bishop. In scene two, the first meeting of the directors in 1670, various Edmonton employees appeared as early shareholders such as Sir Robert Viner, Sir Peter Colleton and Sir John Robinson. In a ballroom scene Company employees wore "authentic" costumes and danced a gavotte. There were scenes at Fort Charles 1674, Fort Edmonton 1796 and a Cree Indian war dance at Edmonton in 1855.

The Winnipeg report told of a gala banquet at the

Fort Garry Hotel attended by the governor and his family and featuring the presentation of long service medals and a concert. A highlight of the evening was the rendition, by the entire assembly, of a new Company song, set to the tune of "There's A Long, Long Trail". The rafters of the hotel shook to the chorus that went: "There's a long, long trail a-winding,/ Down from the long, long ago/ When the knights of old sought Hudson's Bay/ Through ice and snow,/ And to-night we all are thinking/ Of how those brave men and free,/ Each fought the fight with all his might,/ And built our Company." "During this number," *The Beaver* reported, "the whole chorus marched down into the auditorium and with the aid of many tiny tissue paper streamers, enmeshed the audience in a gay net of many colors."

The October 1920 issue ran to 32 pages and ended with a selection of "leaves from the diary of William Tomison, Chief Factor, Dated October 1801". This was mistakenly called a day-by-day account of events at York Factory, but its publication indicated a first glimmer of interest in Canadian history that would carry *The Beaver* down a long road.

In issue one the editor was still feeling his way. There were interesting articles in that issue about a 3,000-mile canoe trip through the North without guides and a dangerous voyage through the ice of Hudson Bay. There was an account of a pie-eating competition at Fort a la Corne and the story of a big dance and feast for the natives at Missanabie. The establishment of new tennis and quoits courts for the Winnipeg staff was duly reported and there was an item on the General Court of the HBC "Adventurers" in London.

What was *The Beaver* all about? The editor was not certain yet, but he had an idea that there were wonderful stories waiting to be told out in the North and in the memories of old-timers still alive who remembered Simpson, the Rebellion and the opening of the West. "We propose," the editor wrote, "to make this Journal as newsy and interesting as an H.B.C. Magazine should be, with the wealth of good material at its disposal. But we must depend upon you, our readers, for the gathering and reporting of this material. Do not hesitate because you think you are not a writer. Send us the FACTS, with proper names, initials, dates and PICTURES (titled and dated on the back). We will write up your Offerings." The flood of material that subsequently arrived on the editor's desk in Winnipeg indicated that employees in the far-off posts had taken him at his word. Many of the reports were of day-to-day happenings that were of minor interest, then and now, but that editorial appeal also inspired the writing of memoirs by old-time traders and Company adventurers that told important and fascinating stories of the early days of Canada and the opening of the North and West. In time, *The Beaver* would become famous for such accounts of pioneer endeavour told by men and women who had followed closely in the footsteps of Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie and John Rae. More and more it would become clear that the story of the Hudson's Bay Company is closely linked to the history of the northern portion of North America. The HBC story is, to a great extent, the story of Canada.

In its first year *The Beaver* was only vaguely aware of its destiny, but the first editor, Clifton Moore Thomas, seems to have sensed that there were great tales to be told — if only they could be found and put down on paper. Seventy years of those stories fill many volumes.

That first issue of *The Beaver* for October 1920 has long been a rare and much sought after collector's item. So unlike *The Beaver* that we know today, yet interesting for the shadow it cast of what was to come and fascinating in its evocation of a Canadian era long past, that first issue is a curious and entertaining piece of yesterday.

To celebrate the 70th anniversary of its foundation, *The Beaver* has reprinted a limited number of the October 1920 issue to help round out incomplete collections and to amuse and entertain current readers of the magazine. Information on how to get your copy of this rare piece of Canadiana can be found on page 56. ♦

AN IRISH VIEW OF VICTORIAN CANADA

Starvation, Moral Ruin And A Frozen Grave

By George Sheppard

It is well known that the Irish constituted the largest single ethnic group in many parts of British North America during the nineteenth century. During the first half of the 1800s Irish immigrants flocked into Ontario, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and even Quebec. The high point of this migration occurred in 1847 when more than 37,000 Irish fled to Canada to escape starvation at home. The "famine flight" of the late 1840s, however, revealed that the British North American colonies could not easily absorb such numbers and within a few years the stream of arrivals slowed and most Irish who sailed for North America chose to embark for the United States where jobs and prosperity were thought to be in abundance. In 1878, for example, 14,720 natives of Ireland left home for the United States, but only 660 chose to go to Canada. While immigrants from some regions of Ireland, such as Ulster, continued to see Canada as a suitable field for emigration, most Irish, and particularly those from the Irish west coast, did not share in that view.

Ignorance about life in British North America hampered attempts by the British and Canadian governments to foster increased Irish emigration to the Dominion. During the early 1880s concerted efforts were made to divert the flow of migrants away from the United States but these attempts met with only mixed success. Part of the reason for this failure had to do with Irish perceptions of Canada. When philanthropists and government agents tried to persuade the Irish to settle in the Dominion, they discovered that Canada was virtually a *terra incognita* to many people and most knew very little about the country. Moreover, what they did know was often wrong. An examination of Irish newspapers and reports by immigration officials of the time suggests that folktales and rumours, as well as exaggerated published accounts about the Canadian climate, had much to do with deterring immigration to the Dominion.

An old witticism about the west coast of Ireland claims that in a good year the people begin to starve in May; in a bad year they begin to starve about February. Unfortunately for the inhabitants of that region the late 1870s and early 1880s were exceptionally bad years. Incessant rains had decimated the potato crops and throughout the west there was the real possibility of widespread starvation. Nowhere were these conditions more apparent than in the region known as the "Congested Districts". They stretched from Innishowen in the north to Kinsale in the south and included parts of all of the counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Kerry and Cork. These "Congested Districts" remained the most crowded and impoverished region of Ireland and they were once succinctly described as an area where "acute poverty prevailed". The sufferings of the peasantry in this region would eventually prompt a Quaker philanthropist, James Hack Tuke, to embark on a fact-finding tour of the area in 1879.

Tuke had been involved in attempts to relieve distress during the "famine forties" and he was well-known for his philanthropic works throughout the British Isles. In 1880 Tuke published a report on conditions in the Congested Districts entitled *Irish Distress and its Remedies*. In this work the Quaker philanthropist concluded that the removal of whole families from the region would offer the best solution to the innumerable problems of the west coast. Tuke's ideas were greeted with some interest by Canadian authorities since the Dominion was seeking immigrants to populate the prairies of the North-West Territory. In the spring of 1880, Tuke met with Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and the Canadian High Commissioner to Britain, Alexander Galt, in London, England. Naturally enough a discussion on the feasibility of transporting peasants from Ireland's western regions to Canada's North-West Territory arose and before the year was out Tuke sailed for North America to view "these future harvest fields for the world".

Families wave goodbye to loved ones heading for the New World in C.J. Staniland's "The Emigrant Ship". (Bradford Art Galleries and Museums).

National Archives of Canada

John A. Macdonald: farmers for the West.

After visiting Canada in 1881, Tuke wrote glowing accounts of the seemingly endless, fertile prairie in the North-West Territory and he was sure this "paradise" could solve the problems of Ireland's downtrodden peasantry. The first step would be to arrange a limited programme of assisted emigration to North America. If that proved successful Tuke planned to convert the scheme into a colonization programme where families could be provided with land, provisions, and implements in compact settlements on the prairies. While he also visited the United States, Tuke became convinced that it would be eminently more natural to deal with a British "colony" than with a foreign government. A meeting with Macdonald in Ottawa reinforced Tuke's preference for Canada as a final destination for the immigrants. The Canadian prime minister suggested that a joint colonization programme could be undertaken by the British and Dominion governments. In November 1881 the Canadian Privy Council forwarded a proposal to the Colonial Office dealing with Irish colonies in the Canadian North-West. The note explained that farms could be established there at a cost of £40 each and that a family of colonists could be transported to Canada for an equal sum. While the Canadian and British governments haggled over the details of this colonization proposal, Tuke sailed for home to institute his more limited scheme of assisted migration.

Early in 1882 Tuke called on influential friends in England and he managed to collect enough money to provide passages for more than one thousand immigrants. Tuke also conferred with Alexander Galt who assured the philanthropist that the Canadian authorities would co-operate by offering advice and limited assistance, such as railway passes, to the immigrants.

A few days later Tuke was in Connemara and within one week of his arrival in Ireland he had enrolled 1,276 persons as candidates for emigration and had arranged passage on several ships that were leaving for North America. Prospective immigrants were asked whether they could contribute any money toward their tickets and were questioned whether they had friends in Canada or the United States to whom they might be sent. It soon became evident that very few of the emigrants were able to contribute toward their passages and that even fewer wished to go to Canada.

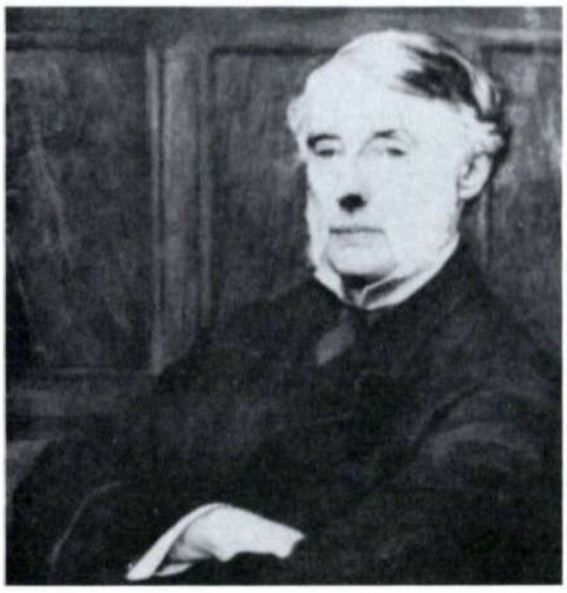
Altogether the Tuke Fund managed to assist 1,300 Irish to leave the Congested Districts in 1882. Of that number only 231 went to Canada, the rest choosing to go to the United States. The number of Canadian emigrants, it seems, would have been much less had the families concerned been offered a choice. According to Tuke, only one family intending to go to Canada left on the first vessel and only ten families left on the second ship. But when it came to the third vessel:

> and the chances of emigrating at all, became less, the people's desire to get away anywhere, led them to accept willingly almost any offer by which this could be effected, and consequently 170 persons went to Canada by the *Lake Winnipeg*.

There was, therefore, an obvious difference of opinion concerning the appeal of Canada as a final destination. On the one hand was the director of the fund who preferred the Dominion, and on the other was the emigrant, who chose Canada only when the alternative was to remain in the Congested Districts.

In Britain Tuke's work was hailed as proof that assisted migration could solve the numerous problems

James Hack Tuke: homes for the poor.



National Archives of Canada

William G.R. Hind, "A Prairie Road". Fertile farms awaited the reluctant Irish.

of western Ireland. Tuke successfully memorialized the British government for assistance and in November 1882 more than £100,000 was set aside to encourage Irish emigration the next year. Local poor law boards, operating under a newly established Emigration Committee in Dublin, received most of that grant but the Tuke Fund acquired £26,786 of government money to continue its private work. Many Irish had heard of the successful expedition of 1882 and thousands of impoverished peasants were eager to avail themselves of the government assistance. One member of the Emigration Committee reported in February 1883 that during the two days he spent in the Congested Districts the doors of the workhouse were "besieged by crowds of poor persons" seeking to emigrate. By March of 1883 some 21,000 people had applied for portions of the £100,000 grant.

Both the government Emigration Committee and the private Tuke Fund had decided that no candidates would be offered assisted passages to the United States unless they could provide a letter from a friend already in the republic who was willing to offer aid on their arrival. Despite the general disposition to emigrate, most individuals expressed a preference to go to the United States rather than Canada. Part of this desire was related to the fact that most Irish knew that America was already home to nearly three million of their countrymen. One member of the Emigration Committee remarked that the preference for the United States was understandable since "a nucleus of satisfied emigrants is bound to draw its countrymen and countrywomen in subsequent years." That same official also noted that very few Irish knew anything about Canada and most had only the "haziest notion" of what life in the Dominion was actually like. Usually what they did know was untrue.

Rumours, probably in existence for years, ran rampant throughout the west. Apparently some Irish believed that one had to convert to the Protestant faith if one chose to live in Canada. To counter this belief government agents solicited letters from Tuke migrants who had settled in Canada in 1882. One of those people reassured his former neighbours that the Dominion was a "good place for any person that is inclined to work" and he warned "don't believe that you must change your religion if you come here."

A member of the Tuke Fund, Sidney Buxton, claimed that even more absurd stories were circulated:

> It was fully believed by some that most Canadians were niggers, that if not frozen to death, the emigrants would be kept in servitude for years, that

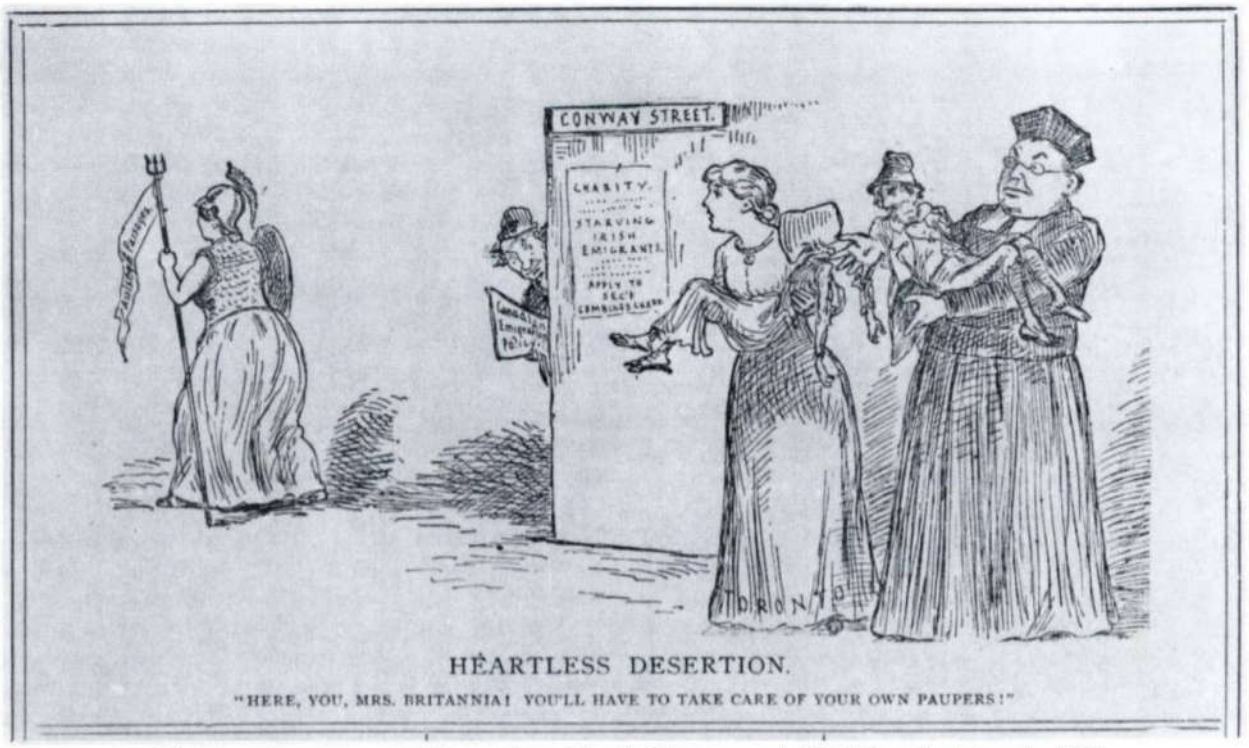
Metropolitan Toronto Library

Tennis, anyone? J.W. Bengough cartoon from "Grip", Saturday, 7 July 1883.

they would be dressed in "Kennedy" clothes like convicts, that the English Government was sending round coffin ships to take them off. . . .

Buxton later reported that he thought the placards extolling the virtues of Canada which had been distributed in the spring of 1883 might have worked against the aims of the emigration authorities. Anything connected with the British government was considered a fit object for suspicion among some Irish and many evidently believed that the official preference for Canada was only "a subtle device for keeping the emigrant under the British Crown, even when he had left Ireland." Fear of the intentions of the hated British government, combined with legends about what might be found in Canada made most Irish extremely leery about chancing a new start in the Dominion.

Lack of any real knowledge about Canada prompted some to refuse the offer of assisted passage to the Dominion. Even after carefully refuting rumours about wild creatures and slave ships, the authorities discovered that some Irish maintained an "unreasoning dread" about Canada and they declined to go there "even when the workhouse or starvation seemed to be the only alternative". When Sidney Buxton tried to convince one man that because he had no friends in the United States he would have to go to Canada, the Irishman asked if he could go without his wife as she would never consent to emigrate there. Upon being told that was impossible the man cried: "Och thin! I'm bet. I'm don! She'll stack and we'll starve!" Others simply refused to be deterred from going to the United States and Buxton recalled a particularly revealing exchange with one determined Irishman:



HEARTLESS DESERTION.

"HERE, YOU, MRS. BRITANNIA! YOU'LL HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF YOUR OWN PAUPERS!"

Metropolitan Toronto Library

J.W. Bengough comments on the "Conway Street Colony" of Irish paupers in "Grip", Saturday, 1 December 1893.

Enter Pat Murphy. The preliminaries being disposed of, Sid asks, "Where do you wish to go?" Pat: "To Cleveland yer honour." It is ascertained that Pat has no friends in Cleveland and merely mentions it because he has heard the name. Then he is told, "You can't go to Cleveland. Will you go to Canada?" Pat: "Yer honour?" Sid: "Will you go to Canada or stay at home?" Pat: "To Cleveland".

Not all the emigrants were as guileless and some took to forging letters to ensure that they were not sent to Canada. When the authorities began to examine the documents more closely the prospective emigrants abandoned that tactic and instead asked acquaintances in the United States to send letters affirming that they would care for the arrivals, although no aid was really intended. One critic of the programme noted that the letter requirement was "little better than a farce, and occasioned much amusement to those who were behind the scenes".

The government's emigration proposal was continually attacked by Irish nationalists who believed that British misgovernment had led to the distress in the Congested Districts. Instead of wasting money shipping Irish overseas, critics of the emigration programme wanted the government to spend funds on reclaiming waste lands and in making Ireland a tolerable place in which to live. While there was much to be said for that view, it did not bring an end to the "emigration fever" which gripped the nation. Nearly 17,000 westerners were assisted to leave Ireland in 1883 with 11,221 choosing the United States as their final destination. Altogether the Tuke Fund and government Emigration Committee assisted 5,552 Irish to reach Canada and, for the first time, the port authorities noted that the province of Connaught, not Ulster, had furnished the largest contingent of immigrants bound for Canada.

Having failed to persuade the British government to abandon the plan, nationalist newspapers increasingly resorted to attacking Canada in order to discredit the programme. One of the first negative reports was carried in the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* on 13 January 1883 and it dealt with an issue that was sure to get attention — the Canadian climate. "Can Government seriously contemplate," asked the newspaper, "sending thousands of families from the temperate and almost warm climate of the West out to the rigours of a Canadian winter?" The *Limerick Independent and Munster Advertiser* published a letter on the same day which was purportedly written by a Canadian priest advising against settling in the Dominion. There, the readers were informed, the Irish stood no chance of acquiring work when employers favoured other nationalities. If the Irish must emigrate, this priest advised they go to the United States where "Paddy has no such difficulties." A few weeks later, on 10 February 1883, the *Advertiser* suggested that those who truly wished to leave Ireland should shun any offer of assisted passage, especially if they were being offered to des-

tinations in Canada. Readers of the *Advertiser* were instead told to pay their own passage to the United States where they would at least "be free from the influence of British bigotry and hate". That hostile attitude quickly became more vehement when the arrival of spring revealed that Imperial authorities were going ahead with the proposed migration. On 13 May 1883 the Dublin *Weekly Freeman* printed letters which stated that emigration to the Canadian "Siberia" would lead an Irishman to nothing but "hard work, privation, life-long poverty and banishment from all he holds dear".

Over the next few months, nationalist newspapers continued to print warnings about the Canadian people, climate, and geography. On 14 July 1883, for example, the *Weekly Freeman* featured correspondence that described Canada as a country of "frost and snow" inhabited by "very miserly" people. Thomas Connolly, the Irish emigration agent for the Dominion, spent most of 1883 vainly attempting to refute such claims. From his Dublin office Connolly wrote to John A. Macdonald on 20 September 1883 assuring him that he would let no man "disparage the country and Govt. whose humble servant I have the honour to be". Connolly had already sent letters to various newspapers explaining that the Canadian climate was brisk, but dry, and that it was certainly healthier than that of Ireland's west coast. These letters brought on further disparaging accounts from Irish journalists but at first Connolly believed that such debates were in the Dominion's interest. Like a Hollywood press agent, Connolly was of the opinion that bad publicity was better than no publicity and on 29 November 1883 he assured his superiors that "Canadian emigration is sure to profit by agitation and you will find that we will have a good emigration next season."

Connolly's optimistic appraisal, however, proved ill-founded. By the fall of 1883 Canadian journalists had joined their Irish counterparts in denouncing the programme of assisted migration. In June, immigration agents at New York had begun returning Irish arrivals considered "too weak" to succeed in the United States and many Canadians were soon demanding that their government follow that lead. Residents of Toronto were particularly upset since hundreds of Irish immigrants had congregated in the northwest corner of the city. The *Globe* dubbed the area the "Conway Colony" since forty or fifty families of Irish immigrants were living in extreme poverty in the vicinity of Conway Street. Most of the Irish seem to have been sent out by members of poor law boards who wanted to rid their districts of paupers who were dependent on charity because of infirmities. While most were not part of the emigration scheme conducted by Tuke or British government officials, the inhabitants of the Conway Colony were associated in the public press with the state-aided programme. Angered at being used as a dumping ground for Ireland's "old and enfeebled", some Canadian newspapers demanded the adoption of the "New York policy" of returning paupers. For example, on 1 December 1883, the Toronto *Grip* blamed the British and Canadian governments for launching thousands of Irish toward the Dominion with only enough money to huddle in urban centres. There the local charities and Catholic Church were expected to feed and clothe the starving arrivals.

Alarm over the condition of some of the newly arrived Irish immigrants turned to near-panic when news of another programme reached Canada. Late in 1883 nationalist newspapers in Ireland acquired a secret government document which detailed elaborate plans for the depopulation of the Congested Districts by the removal of 50,000 peasants. Negotiations between the Canadian and British governments, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, had been underway since Tuke had visited Canada and the "Confidential Circular" outlined how 50,000 colonists would be transplanted from the west coast of Ireland to Canada's North-West Territory. Not surprisingly, many people in both Canada and Ireland were violently opposed to this plan. By autumn of 1883 most Canadians were against further importations of impoverished peasants and Irish clergymen and nationalist groups on both sides of the Atlantic declared that the colonization scheme was a

The Irish poor, before and after emigration to the United States, as depicted in Mary Cusack's "Illustrated History of Ireland", 1868. At left, the hapless peasants are turned out of their home by agents of the landlord. At right they enjoy all the comforts of home in the U.S.A., including a cat.

British "government conspiracy against the life of Ireland".

The exposure of the Confidential Circular led to renewed attacks on Canada in the Irish press. Once again the climate and people of Canada were portrayed in a very unflattering light. For example, on 3 November 1883 the *Freeman's Journal* said that Canada consisted of "forest and swamp, of ice-fields and snow mountains" and that Irish colonists would likely be placed on wastelands "in which even the Indians can not live". On 19 November the same journal compared the British Prime Minister, William E. Gladstone, to the reviled Oliver Cromwell; the only difference being that Cromwell's exiles had been victims of the West Indian heat while Gladstone's would perish in a "climate of frost and snow". The *Weekly Freeman* on 10 November 1883, warned that the only inhabitants of the Canadian Northwest were "half-breed trappers" and "Red Indians". The rest of Canada's population was supposedly comprised of people who were "the roughest and most selfish in the world". Likewise, on 24 November 1883 the Limerick *Advertiser* published a letter which denounced the colonization plan and declared that the Irish were only being offered the opportunity to become "co-mates of the brute beast and uncivilized native in the wilds of Canada".

In addition to these standard denunciations of the Dominion, Irish journalists now had extra ammunition to fire against their enemies. Reports from Canadian sources about the hardship and destitution faced by some immigrants, such as those in Toronto's Conway Colony, added weight to the sometimes fantastic libels printed in Irish papers. In the 8 December 1883 edition of the Limerick *Advertiser*, a Toronto priest was quoted as saying that many of the assisted Irish immigrants were now beggars, a number were in jail as vagrants, some were in "cheerless dens in disreputable streets", while others "have had their bodies cut up in the dissecting rooms of the general hospital". The editor challenged those who supervised the 1883 exodus to reply to these charges and if they could not he suggested that all further plans to fill "the slums, the jails, the brothels, and the dissecting rooms of Toronto and

other Canadian cities" be abandoned immediately. Much ink was also devoted to long accounts of the immoral lifestyles of average Canadians. On 5 January 1884 the Sligo *Champion* cited a letter from the Archbishop of Toronto, John Joseph Lynch, as evidence for why a lack of priests in Canada led inevitably to mixed marriages, drunkenness, and a life of vice. Lynch said that was particularly true for young Irish girls who fell "into the hands of those who provide for their bodies at the expense of their souls". Clearly, if that was how the Irish survived in Canadian cities then their fate in colonies in Canada's North-West would surely be more gruesome. On 26 January 1884 the *Champion* reminded its readers of Lynch's warnings and it predicted that at least half of the 50,000 Irish "dupes" would face "certain death in these ice bound regions".

In the face of such attacks Thomas Connolly continued to address letters to Irish newspapers explaining that Canada offered free land and possessed valuable mineral fields. The emigrant agent's letters about "fine farms" in Canada must have appeared evasive to Irish readers. That was especially true since they were usually published the week after the newspapers had printed another lurid account of rampant depravity in the Dominion. Connolly was reluctant to challenge the validity of what he was sure were "slanders" because he had inadequate information about events back in Canada. Moreover, during the winter of 1883-84 the charges flew so fast that Connolly was unable to keep up with the barrage. In private letters to his superiors he admitted that it was "disheartening" to see disparaging accounts about the Dominion appearing daily in Irish journals but he could not refute all of them. On 7 February 1884 he wrote to John A. Macdonald that the latest series of attacks was particularly hard to counter since it was based on excerpts from "Canadian papers which makes it almost impossible to reply to".

Negative publicity over the Conway immigrants, as well as unresolved questions over funding, led to the cancellation of the proposed Irish colonies. Complaints by nationalists and clerics also brought an end to the more limited programme of assisted migration that had sent more than 5,000 Irish to Canada in 1883. On 31 March 1884 the Dominion government announced changes to its immigration policy and the Irish Emigration Committee was warned that it would have to provide for the maintenance of individuals who failed to succeed in Canada. Although a state-aided programme would occur in 1884 the activity was conducted on a far less extensive scale. The total number of government assisted emigrants to all destinations fell from 16,976 to 8,560. Not surprisingly, very few Irish were willing to risk a new life in Canada. During 1883 more than 5,000 had embarked for the Dominion but the next year the number of state-funded Irish bound for Canada plummeted to 750. As the programme gradually wound down, Canada ceased to be a topic of any interest to nationalist journalists. By the end of 1884 — no doubt much to the relief of Thomas Connolly — the Dominion was rarely referred to in Irish newspapers.

Some influential Canadians, such as John A. Macdonald and Alexander Galt, had hoped that the assisted migrations would lead to the establishment of a "New Ireland" on Canada's prairies. At the very least it was believed that the country would become better known as a suitable destination for immigrants. Instead the Tuke and government emigrations permitted the Irish press to reinforce old prejudices and even promote some new unflattering legends about Canada. Throughout 1883 and 1884 readers of Irish newspapers were warned repeatedly to avoid raising "their tents beneath the burning sun or the frozen wastes of Canada". As a result, even those residents of the Congested Districts who might have ignored tales about "niggers and other monsters" became convinced that the United States was the best destination for those determined to leave. Between 1885 and 1889 the number of natives of Connaught leaving Ireland amounted to 72,880. Most of those individuals sailed for the United States and only 1,021 went to Canada. In light of the publicity accorded the Dominion earlier in the decade one can only admire the bravery of that handful of Irish who were willing to face "starvation, moral ruin, and death" in the "frozen fields" of Canada. ♦

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Homesick

Lord, have compassion upon me, a poor unfortunate sinner, three thousand miles from my own country, and seventy-five from anywhere else.

— Prayer of an Irish Emigrant

So fare you well father and my mother, adieu
My sister and brother farewell unto you,
I am bound for America my fortune to try,
When I think of Bunclody I'm ready to die.

— Old Irish Ballad

NOVA SCOTIA, 1715

Mission to the Micmac

By John G. Reid

On 17 August 1715 Peter Capon sailed out of Annapolis Royal under orders from the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Thomas Caulfeild. Capon, commissary to the garrison at Annapolis and a merchant with fishing interests on the Nova Scotia coast, had already undertaken a voyage earlier in the year to proclaim to the major Acadian communities the accession of George I as king of Great Britain. This he had done, though he was unable to persuade the Acadians to swear allegiance to the new monarch. Now, in August, Capon was entrusted with an even more delicate task. Together with commissioners sent from New England, he was instructed to inquire into recent seizures of New England fishing vessels by the Micmac between Pubnico and Chebucto (later the site of Halifax) and to find "the most likely places for Meeting with the said Indians." Capon was then to proceed to Louisbourg to meet with the French governor, Philippe Pastour de Costebelle. Stating the British belief that the Micmac seizures had been carried out with French involvement, he was to press Costebelle for compensation and for assurances that such events would not be repeated. He was then to return speedily to Annapolis with Costebelle's answer.

Capon's journey did not go entirely according to plan. Nevertheless, he did reach Louisbourg, did interview Costebelle, and did make contact with Micmac groups in various localities. What he found out, and what is evident from the journal he kept during his absence of almost twelve weeks from Annapolis Royal, was that Nova Scotia in 1715 was a colony in which the complex relationships between French, British, Acadians, Micmac, and New Englanders had yet to fall into any clear or stable pattern. Despite the tendency of historians to assume that the Treaty of Utrecht, two years earlier, had regulated all the matters that needed regulating in the wake of twenty-three years of almost continuous warfare, the reality was that the stability promised by the treaty was still much more apparent than real.

Of the long-term importance of the Treaty of Utrecht, of course, there is no question. As well as its European provisions, and the clauses relating to Hudson Bay and to the status of the Iroquois, the treaty made major changes in European colonial claims in the Maritime northeast of North America. Newfoundland was recognized as a possession of Great Britain, as was peninsular Nova Scotia and perhaps — depending on differing interpretations of the vaguely-worded boundary provisions — the adjoining area later to be known as New Brunswick. France, with most of its old colony of Acadia now surrendered, retained control of Cape Breton Island (to be renamed Ile Royale) and Ile Saint-Jean, the later Prince Edward Island. Underlying any glib recitation of territorial gains and losses, however, was a deeper truth that could not so easily be ignored in North America itself as it was in the negotiating rooms in Utrecht: that these were territories where people lived, or had economic interests, and that there were some who were willing to fight politically or militarily to safeguard their future. The treaty imposed a new political and military framework on the entire region, but imperial agreements between France and Britain were not necessarily a conclusive or determining force.

Most conspicuous as an independent power in Nova Scotia following the Treaty of Utrecht were the Micmac. Greatly reduced in numbers in the 200 or more years since European contact had begun — the total population may have fallen to some 2,000 by the early decades of the eighteenth century — the Micmac were well aware that they had not signed the treaty, and so had no reason to recognize British sovereignty, and that they could continue to wield significant military power in efforts to defend their lands and people. In July 1713, for example, a Cape Sable band warned the British, through a letter written by the French missionary Antoine Gaulin to the governor of Massachusetts, that they expected prompt return of Micmac prisoners held in Boston during the war. Failing this, they would seize New England fishing vessels and officers from the Port Royal garrison to be used for exchange. Gaulin assured Dudley that he was counselling against such seizures but could give no guarantees: "if you will not send 'em [the prisoners]

National Archives of Canada

King Louis XIV medal 'Spes Felicitas Orbis", commemorating the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

. . . they will take measures to have 'em after another manner." Although this particular dispute was resolved, the native presence continued to represent a strong and autonomous force. Caulfeild hoped, as he wrote in a report to London in November 1715, to win the native people over to supporting the British "by kindly using of them, on which formation their friendship is wholy founded," but the goal was likely to prove unrealistic unless based on an accurate appreciation of the continuing resilience and self-direction of the Micmac.

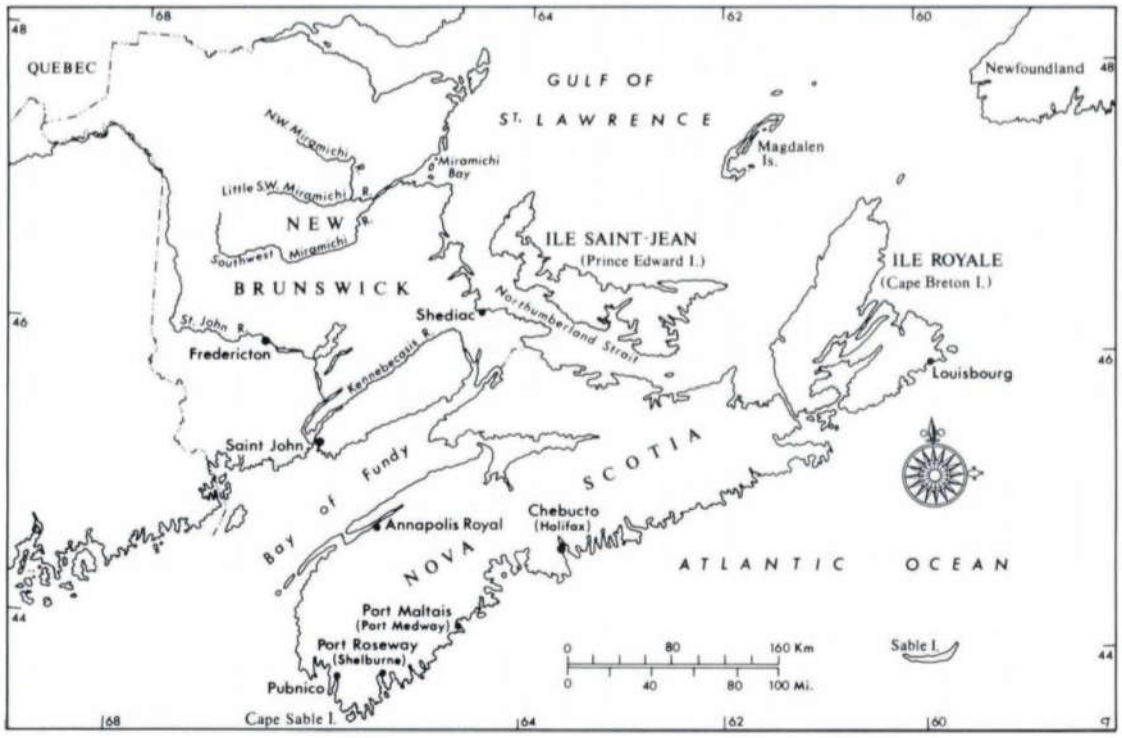
Not a militarized population, but far outnumbering the small British garrison and community at Annapolis Royal, were the Acadians. Having survived through some eighty turbulent years since the first major group of families had been established, and expanded their settlements from the original site at Port Royal to new areas on the Isthmus of Chignecto and around Minas Basin, the Acadians now faced crucial questions as to what their future would be following the military conquest of Acadia in 1710 and its confirmation at Utrecht. Early British debates as to the merits of deporting the Acadian population in favour of British colonists had soon given way to a recognition that potential British settlers would be difficult to find and that with the Acadians would go the economic health of the colony. Caulfeild was one of those who argued successfully that it was in the British interest that the Acadians should stay. What was not clear, however, was on what basis they should do so. To the British colonial authorities, it seemed that an oath of allegiance to Great Britain was needed in order to ensure that the Acadians would be reliable subjects. The Acadians themselves proved in general to be unwilling to be thus separated so absolutely from their erstwhile French compatriots, especially when their Catholic faith might be threatened and when an oath of allegiance might commit them to taking up arms against the French and the Micmac in a future war. To complicate matters further, French colonial officials were actively trying to induce Acadians to move to Ile Royale, to reinforce the small population from French Newfoundland which had been resettled at Louisbourg. When Capon's efforts in early 1715 had failed to yield the expected oaths of allegiance, Caulfeild inferred that they intended to "quit the country." Time would show that he was wrong and that most Acadians preferred to remain in Nova Scotia, swearing allegiance only if their religion and their militarily neutral status were respected, but they again formed a presence in the region that would not necessarily conform to the expectations of colonial officials, either British or French.

The same could be said for the economic interests of New England merchants. Since the 1630s, New Englanders had been trading with both Acadians and native people on the northeastern coasts, frequently in disregard of European efforts to restrain them. The trade had continued throughout the war years, and after 1710 a number of New England merchants had moved to Annapolis Royal to pursue it further. New England vessels also fished in Acadian waters, and at times this had produced serious diplomatic disputes as well as armed conflict in time of war. Since the establishment of British rule, French restraints on New England fishing on the coasts off peninsular Nova Scotia had disappeared. The Micmac, however, well knew that lightly-defended fishing vessels were vulnerable targets if they wished to exert pressure on the British. During the summer of 1715, for reasons that

were not yet understood either in Boston or in Annapolis Royal, a series of seizures took place. Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts reported on 26 July to the colony's General Court that "the Indians have proceeded in their Hostilities, so far as to make themselves Masters of about Twenty-seven of our fishing vessels." Eight New Englanders, the governor continued, had been killed — a report later contradicted by Capon — and others wounded or captured. The General Court accepted Dudley's proposal to send a frigate to Annapolis Royal to "Acquaint the Government there, of our present Posture, and their Danger, and obtain their advice of any Method, to be used to Recover our Vessels, and Prisoners out of the Indian bands." By early August H.M.S. *Rose* had arrived with two New England commissioners, and Capon's mission was the result.

Capon's vessel for the voyage to Louisbourg was the provincially-owned sloop, *Caulfeild*. The plan was for it and the *Rose* to sail separately, meeting at Port Roseway (later Shelburne) to continue towards Cape Breton. Three days out from Annapolis, and not yet past Cape Fourchu (near Yarmouth), Capon was delayed for nine days by bad weather and contrary winds. Finally reaching Pubnico on 31 August, he went ashore and interviewed Acadian inhabitants. He had been preceded, they reported, by two armed sloops that had been sent directly from Boston at the same time as the *Rose* had sailed for Annapolis Royal, and had taken with them one fishing vessel which the Micmac had already released. No doubt the information was of interest to Capon, but it was not as revealing as what he heard next. "The inhabitants said," he recorded, "the Reason that caused the Indians to seize the Vessells was, that some of the fishermen had told the Indians that theire were great Tumults in Great Brittain, and Warr expected to be proclaimed speedily, on which the Indians resolved to beginn first."

Thus, in this indirect way, did British dynastic uncertainties intrude in native-colonial relationships in Nova Scotia. When Queen Anne had died without direct heirs in the summer of 1714, her successor according to the 1701 Act of Settlement was the Elector of Hanover, who now moved to London as King George I. A great-grandson of James I, the elector's chief virtue in the eyes of most parliamentarians was his Protestantism. A small but active minority favoured the succession of the Catholic "Old Pretender", son of the deposed James II, whom they regarded as the legitimate King James III. Although organized opposition to the Hanoverian succession did not show itself in 1714, tension grew during the early months of the following year. In March 1715 prominent supporters of the Pretender moved to France, close to his place



Prince James Stuart, "The Old Pretender".

King George I brought the House of Hanover to Britain and trouble to Nova Scotia.

of exile in the adjoining state of Lorraine. The chief continental supporter of the Jacobite cause was Louis XIV of France, and rumours of war persisted during the spring and summer. They were exaggerated. Louis XIV's death on 1 September effectively ended French support for the Pretender, and the Jacobite revolts that did take place in Great Britain in late 1715 were ineffective. The Pretender himself arrived in Scotland at year's end, but stayed only a few weeks. By the spring of 1716 all was over, and the possibility of a new war between Britain and France — at least in the immediate future — had ended.

When the rumours of war had reached the Micmac, however, the possibility had seemed real. As Capon proceeded along the coast of Nova Scotia, he heard twice more that this was the reason for the outbreaks that had taken place. At La Have, the corroboration came from Micmac who came on board the *Caulfeild* and informed Capon that they had already returned "all the Vessells and Hostages they had taken." At Merligueche, Acadian inhabitants "told the same story." Evidently, hostilities had not long continued, for Capon also heard repeatedly that New England vessels had already been restored before his arrival. While it had lasted, the episode had been a sharp and eventful one. New Englanders had sustained considerable loss of fish and equipment, and Capon himself found at Chebucto that his fishing operations had been disrupted: "a good deal of damage done to my Vessells, Stages Warehouses & c." He found no evidence to support the claim that eight New Englanders had died, and Caulfeild later cited Capon's journal to contradict this report in letters to London in December. Capon did report that there had been one fatality at Mackadome Island, where Micmac had attacked the ship of a certain Captain Wright, "and killed the Doctor of the ship."

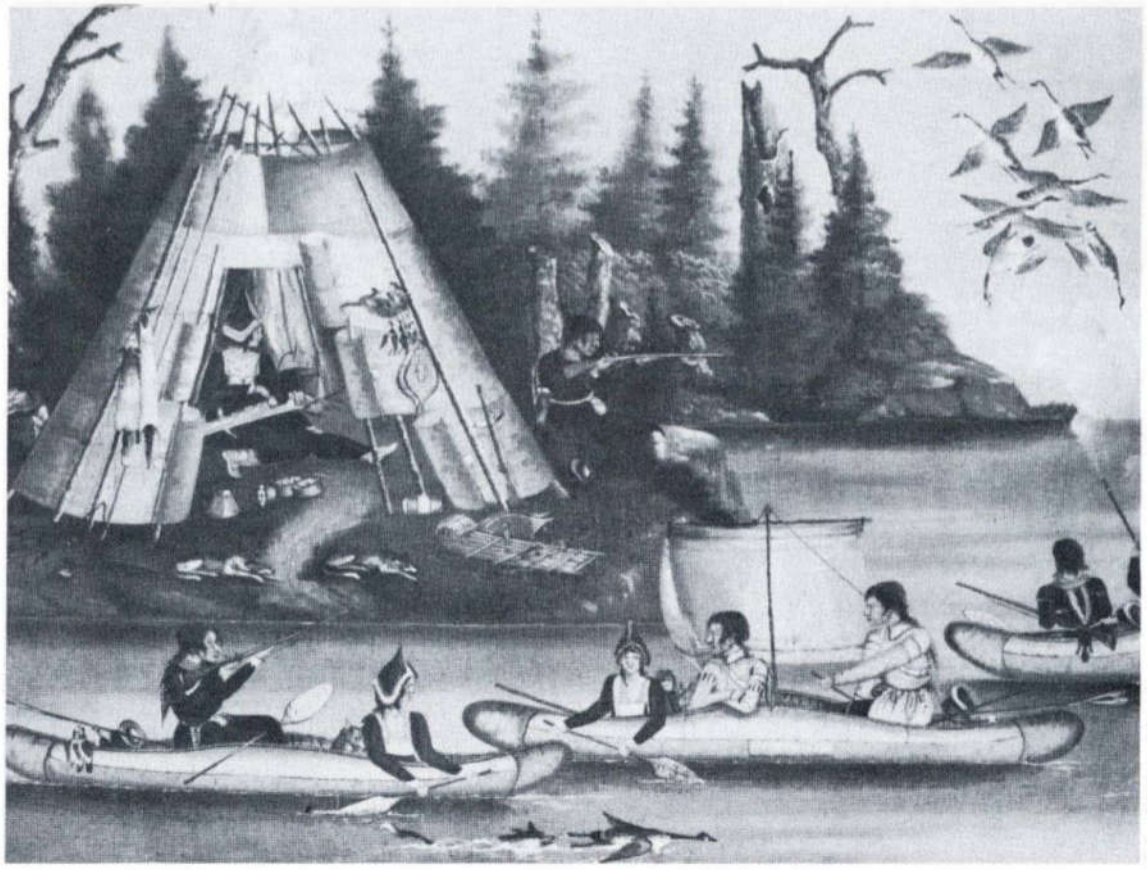
After leaving Mackadome, Capon sailed on to Louisbourg, where he anchored on 13 September and stayed just over three weeks. On the way up the coast, he had put in at Port Roseway, "the place of Rendezvous", but had seen no sign of the *Rose* and so had come on alone. On his second day at Louisbourg he reported that he had been "invited on board the Kings ffrigatt" — presumably a reference to the *Rose* and an indication of its arrival before the *Caulfeild* — but as to the presence of the New England commissioners he recorded nothing. By the French, Capon was "well

received", and immediately delivered to Costebelle a letter from Caulfeild, complaining of "the Great and Many damages" done to New England fishing interests and to the personal interests of Capon, alleging French involvement — though stopping short of accusing Costebelle himself — and hoping for "satisfaction to be made." Costebelle waited until the 17th before replying, and on that day Capon and the governor met for a conversation that formed the basis of the longest entry in Capon's journal:

> The governor told me he had taken all the precautions possible, against the Indians Committing such Hostilitys and that he had dispatcht a frigatt on purpose, at the ffrench kings Charge, with letters to Governor Caulfeild, to signifie to him, how much he was dissatisfyed with the Hostillitys the Indians had committed, and that he had sent expresses and Circular Letters to the Missionarys to the Indians, to order them to deliver up what they had taken from the English, and to know why they had Committed Hostillitys in time of peace. . .I pressed the Governor for Damages done by the Indians on the fishing Vessells, and to severall Merchants belonging to Annapolis Royall, and to Captain Wright, and to my own ffishery & c. his answer was, it was altogather impossible, the Indians being a people when thy gott any plunder presently divides it, and Immediately disposes it, but would take all the precaution he possibly could to hinder the like for the future. He also desired me to acquaint Governor Caulfeild that it was their sincere designe to live in good ffriendship and Correspondence with him and the Collony, and as he had used his endeavours to the Court of ffrance for a free trade, between the 2 Collonies, soe he hoped Governor Caulfeild would doe the same to the Court of Great Brittain, and that noe Collector or Custom house officer (soe prejudiciall to New Collonies) might be suffered.

Costebelle was an experienced colonial governor, a veteran of eight years of command in French Newfoundland before his removal to Cape Breton in 1714. Now occupied in efforts to lay secure foundations for the colony of Ile Royale, he received Capon in a Louisbourg that had none of its later splendour. Not yet selected as a permanent headquarters, Louisbourg in 1715 was a rudimentary settlement, and it would be

Micmac Indians, painted in oils by an unknown pioneer artist.



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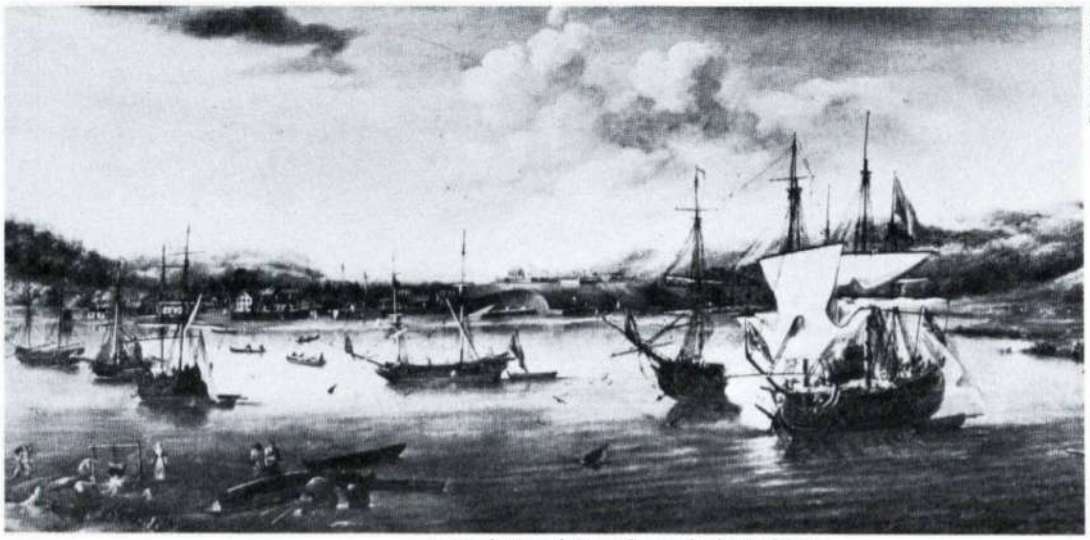


Private collection

Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, by Samuel Scott.

five more years before construction of its buildings and fortifications would seriously begin. Costebelle's cautious responses to Capon reflected the insecure state of the colony he governed. They also revealed some more general realities that affected the Maritime northeast at the time. One was the inability of the French, despite the often-expressed British belief that French officials and missionaries controlled or at least heavily influenced native actions, to induce their former Micmac allies to accept the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. The Micmac were not necessarily warlike, and certainly not gratuitously so — as Capon would discover in his return voyage — but their decisions for war or peace were not to be dictated by the French, useful allies as they had proved to be.

Secondly, Costebelle's professions of friendship towards Nova Scotia were in accordance with the treaty, but his suggestion of free trade went beyond anything that either France or Great Britain would be willing to countenance. That he would have raised the question was a revealing indication of the tenacity of the illegal trade that had long existed between Acadia and New England, and that would soon reestablish itself between Cape Breton and both Nova Scotia and New England. Through Louisbourg and the nearby Nova Scotian port of Canso, goods would be traded to and from New England that might have originated from or be destined to more distant parts of the French commercial empire. As the historical geographer Andrew Hill Clark has pointed out, "to the degree that . . . [Cape Breton] did play its destined commercial role it was, ironically, as a trading entrepôt that tied the British and French systems together in the creation of a technically illegal triangular trade between New England, the French West Indies, and old France itself." Costebelle, who died in 1717, could not foresee the extent of this development. His suggestion to Capon, however, was a recognition of the inevitable importance to Ile Royale of trade with New England, even though he must have been well aware that there would never be legal free trade.

On 6 October, Capon took his final leave of Costebelle and embarked with a package of letters to be delivered to Caulfeild. Although again delayed by unfavourable winds, he reached Merligueche on the 18th. There he held the first of three conferences with Micmac representatives at different points on the Coast. The meeting at Merligueche was pre-arranged — it had been requested by Capon during a previous meeting at La Have on his way up the coast in early September. The Micmac at Merligueche were conciliatory: "they told me they were sorry for the Hostillitys they had committed, and said they would never doe the like againe, and that for the future they would not hearken to any Storys that should be told them, but would come directly to Annapolis Royall to know the truth. . . ." They then turned to another subject, "and desired that the ffishermen should not make them drunk, for they said Strong Liquors would make them kill their fathers." Caulfeild, no doubt prompted by Capon, later interpreted this as an attempt to avoid responsibility for the ship seizures of the summer. Though he did recommend to Governor Dudley in December that "if there were some method taken to hinder the ffishermen from Giving the Indians Rum it would be of service to them," his report to London (written on the same day) merely commented that the Micmac "Alledge the fault to be the Fishermen in Giveing of them to much Liquor which was the occasion of the unhappy Action but little Creditt must be Given to them." However, the point was a more complex and important one than the lieutenant-governor

understood. This was not the first time the request had been made. It was prominent, for example, in the letter written by the missionary Gaulin on behalf of the Cape Sable band to Dudley in 1713. In 1714, another priest — Sébastien Rale, missionary to the Kennebec Abenaki — had strongly denounced Dudley's unwillingness to enforce the Massachusetts colony's own laws against the liquor trade. The Massachusetts council had investigated the matter, but had taken no effective action.

What Capon had encountered, though neither he nor Caulfeild recognized it as such, was the continuing effort of the Micmac to deal both with long-term problems and with the new eventualities that stemmed from the French withdrawal from peninsular Nova Scotia. The long-term questions concerned the effects of European contact and colonization: the economic and cultural consequences of the fur trade, and notably the problem of alcohol. Only too well aware of the destructive effects of alcoholism among themselves and neighbouring peoples — initially welcomed by many as offering access to a new spiritual world, liquor had come to be recognized as a drug that could disrupt families and entire peoples — Micmac leaders sought to cut off the supply, only to be frustrated by Massachusetts-based dealers. Their request to Capon was a considered, though unsuccessful, effort to prompt the New Englanders to mend their ways. At the same time, the Micmac made overtures towards political accommodation with the British. This again was a complex matter. Native people saw no reason to accept British pretensions to rule Nova Scotia. In July 1715, for example, two Boston merchants who had had fishing vessels seized at Cape Sable reported that "the Indians say the Lands are theirs and they can make Warr and peace when they please. . . ." Weakened by a declining population, however, the Micmac also knew that a case could be made for negotiation. Like the Abenaki, who had faced English colonial claims since the early years of the previous century, the Micmac looked for agreements that would make co-existence possible without surrendering native independence or land ownership. Time would show that this goal was incompatible with the uncompromising British assumption that Nova Scotia belonged to the crown of Great Britain, but in the meantime sobriety and coexistence were plausible elements of a concerted Micmac strategy to resolve both old and new problems.

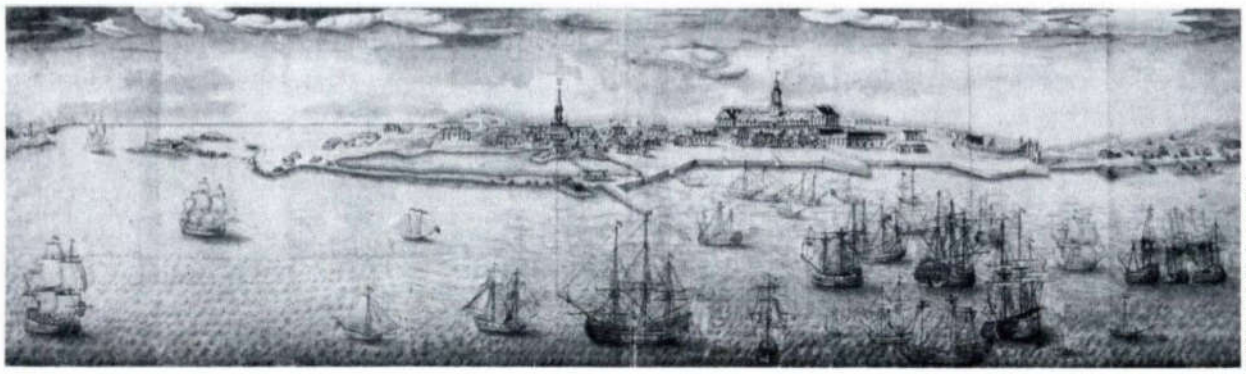
Of the native willingness to negotiate, Capon soon had even clearer evidence. Leaving Merligueche, he encountered several days of bad weather and on 28 October he was forced to anchor at Port Maltais (Port Medway), only a short way down the coast. There the *Caulfeild* was approached by a number of Micmac canoes, and on the following day Capon took part in another meeting:

> I went ashoar to theire Wigwamms, and told them the dammage the Indians had done to the English, which they seemed sorry for, and desired me to meet them in the Spring on the Coast, being sent by theire Chiefe to tell me, that all theire Chiefs and Indians would meet me, and desired Articles then to be drawn relating to trade and other affairs at that Conference, and the Article then agreed upon, they would signe and faithfully perform, and pressed me hard to promise to meet them, I answered them if I had the Governors orders soe to doe, I should willingly obey them.

Again at Pubnico five days later, Capon met "some Indians [who] desired I would meet thiere Chiefs and them in the spring as the Indians at Port Martais had done." Presumably, though he did not record it in his journal, he gave them the same answer. Three days later, he anchored at Port Royal. With the delivery of Costebelle's letter to Caulfeild, Capon's mission was at an end.

Capon had certainly not enjoyed any consistent success in fulfilling his tasks. Weather had disrupted the plan for the *Caulfeild* and the *Rose* to travel together, and so Capon had had to press on alone. With the

Louisbourg, early eighteenth century, by Verrier.



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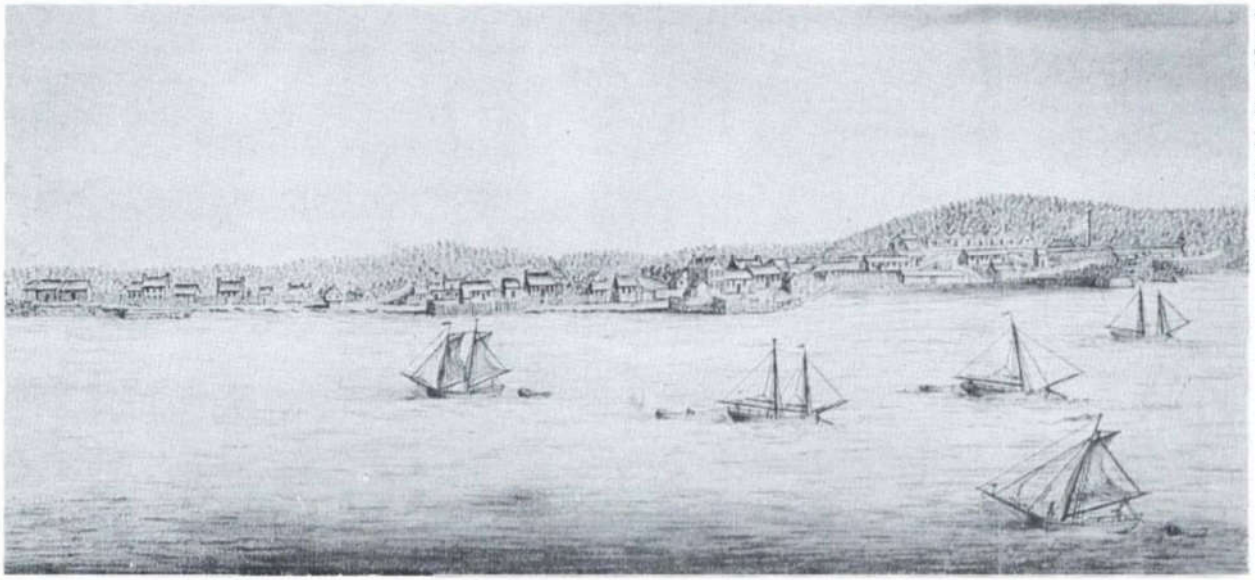

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View of Annapolis Royal in the mid-eighteenth century by John Hamilton.

Acadian inhabitants he had had limited dealings, but that was understandable as his instructions had specifically directed him towards native people and the French in Cape Breton. Although received cordially in Louisbourg, he had made little impression on Costebelle. The French governor had been perfectly willing, even before Capon's arrival, to express his disapproval of Micmac ship seizures and his hopes for British-French co-operation, but he had disclaimed any French responsibility for Indian actions and had brusquely dismissed the question of compensation. With the Micmac themselves, Capon had apparently made some progress. Yet the gap between native strategies and British assumptions was still wide, and there is no evidence in Caulfeild's correspondence for 1716 that the opportunity for serious negotiations in that year was ever pursued by the British. Instead, Caulfeild's attentions in what he regarded by now as "this dismall place" were increasingly taken up in unsuccessful efforts to persuade the Acadians to swear allegiance to Great Britain and in equally frustrating attempts to extract from the British government adequate provisions and military supplies for the Annapolis Royal garrison. In no single respect, therefore, could Capon's voyage be regarded as an altogether fruitful venture.

Viewed in historical perspective, however, the voyage and the journal it yielded can offer a penetrating insight into conditions in the Maritime northeast following the Treaty of Utrecht. Capon's observations reveal clearly the instabilities that persisted in the region despite the establishment of the peace between France and Great Britain in 1713. The peace itself was in some doubt during the summer of 1715, in the context of British dynastic disputes, and the rumours of impending war briefly prompted Micmac bands to renew hostilities against New England vessels. Colonial officials such as Caulfeild and Costebelle, meanwhile, continued to fence warily with one another, professing friendly intentions but still suspicious of the intentions of former enemies. Acadians and Micmac, faced with the need to devise new strategies to deal with the British presence in Nova Scotia, also moved cautiously. Most Acadians sought to avoid taking the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, though without having to leave their long-established homes and communities. The Micmac, confronted by the British claim to their territories, experimented at different times with both resistance and accommodation. Through it all, the economic influence of New England was evident in both fishing and trading activities in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

Peter Capon perceived all of this in a dim and partial way. Although no fool, he did not have the benefit of historical hindsight. But if any historian, using hindsight too sweepingly, could have suggested to him that the Treaty of Utrecht had defused, even for the time being, the tensions and uncertainties that existed in the region, Capon would have been properly sceptical. His voyage from Annapolis Royal to Louisbourg had brought him in contact, in one way or another, with all of the conflicting influences that subsisted after the treaty. His journal recorded them, and thus created a fleeting but vivid image of a time of unpredictability and change. ◆

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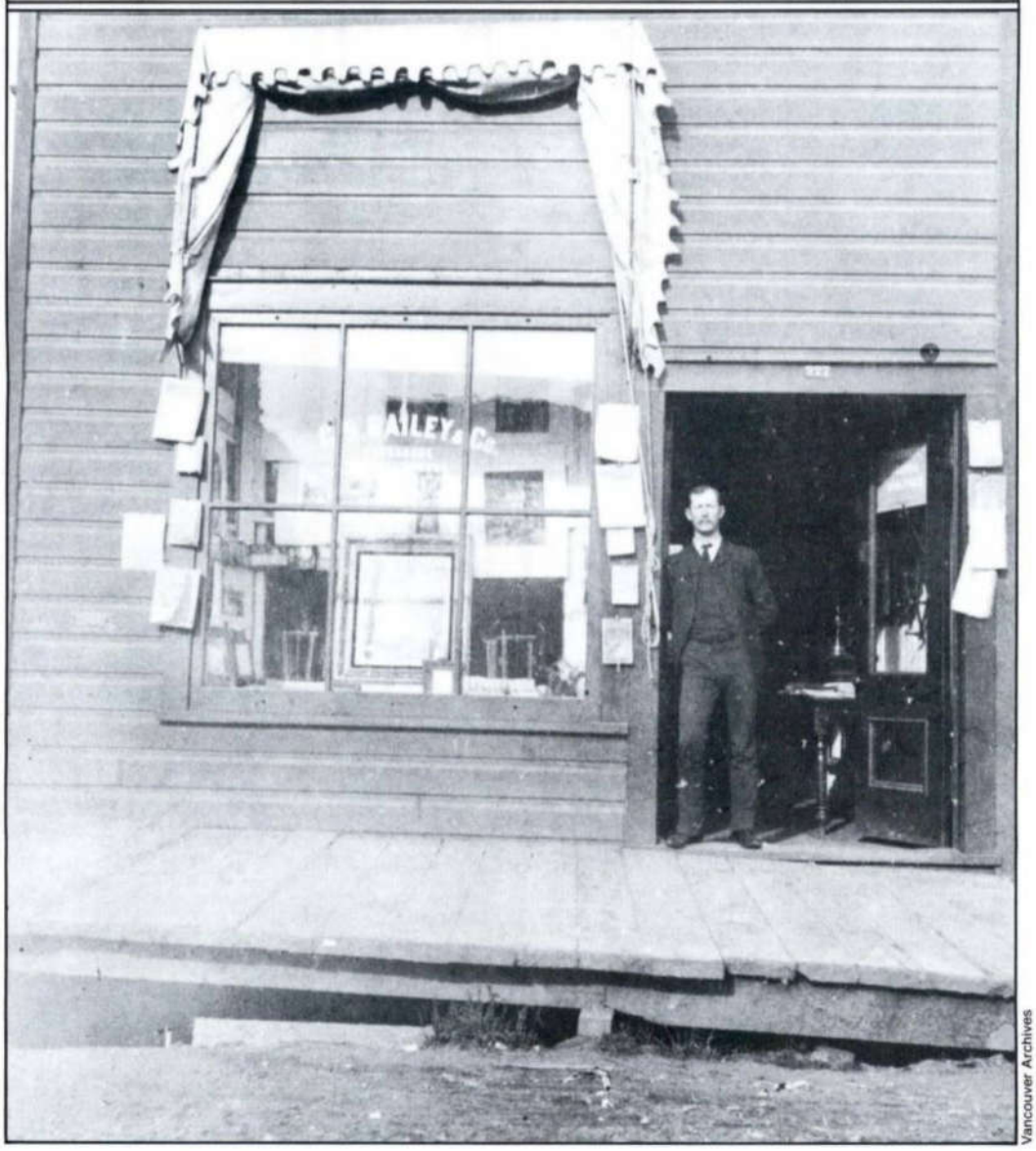
The Eyes Of A City

Pioneer Photographers Caught Vancouver's Early Years

BY DAVID MATTISON



Vancouver Archives

Previous page: C.S. Bailey at his second storefront location, 227 Hastings Street, 1888 or 1889. The building was formerly the post office.
Above: Bailey Brothers Art and Stationery Store, 160 Cordova Street, 1891. C.S. Bailey is third from left.

If you were a tourist or a newly-arrived resident in Vancouver in the early 1890s, chances are you thought of sending home a photograph of the majestic, bustling "Terminal City". After five years Vancouver showed few traces of the 13 June 1886 fire that had destroyed the original settlement. Picking up one of the daily newspapers, a visitor would see more evidence of change: building construction tender notices, along with descriptions of and ads for dozens of new businesses.

Although there were two professional photographers established in the city before the fire, only one firm, J.A. Brock & Co., survived the blaze. H.T. Devine, who managed the firm after its founder returned to Manitoba, appealed to the pride and vanity of potential customers. "Let your friends see in what a delightful spot you are living. . ." urged one of his newspaper advertisements for Christmas 1886. A dozen prints mounted on sturdy cardboard could be purchased for between $3 and $8, depending on size. Devine remained in business less than three years, but returned to photography briefly in the mid-1890s.

Devine's photographs are an invaluable record of Vancouver's first years as an incorporated city (see Betty C. Keller's article on H.T. Devine, *The Beaver*, June/July 1986), but he was not the only commercial photographer in the city. Regrettably, his first competitor, Milross & Wren, lost their business in the fire and no photographs by the firm have ever been found. For nearly 18 months after the fire Devine monopolized the photographic trade. Devine's first competitor after the fire was J.D. Hall (1854-1936), formerly of Winnipeg. He established the Vancouver Photo Company in October 1887. Primarily a portrait photographer specializing in group work, Hall sold the business to the Wadds Brothers in 1892 and became Vancouver's first sheriff the next year. Of the various photographic "brotherhoods" in nineteenth-century Vancouver — the Stanley Brothers, Edwards Brothers, Wadds Brothers, A. Douglas & Company, Jones & Company, and the Bailey Brothers — only the last specialized in landscape photography, what we would call postcard views.

Charles S. Bailey, the younger brother but senior member of the partnership, was the first to earn a living in Vancouver as a landscape and marine photographer. His landscape work is particularly important in the history of the city, for every year between 1888

and 1892 he documented the growth of the city from different vantage points. Between those years, for example, he used the roof of the Hotel Vancouver to create panoramic views from east to west, as well as taking panoramas from the slopes of the Fairview and Mount Pleasant neighbourhoods looking north towards the downtown area. As did other photographers, he journeyed through the province along the Canadian Pacific Railway line in search of interesting views. His images are also among the few of old Vancouver to have survived in their original glass negative format and thus comprise an unparalleled visual record of the city's vigorous growth over a crucial four-year period.

Bailey brought the double perspective of booster and documentarian to each of his photographs. He aimed his camera at sporting events, lumber camps, salmon canneries, gold miners, firemen, brass bands, amateur lacrosse teams, picnic groups, the Chinese and native Indians. His vision was an honest one and he accepted whatever the camera brought into sight. No evidence has been found that he retouched his negatives to eliminate distasteful elements or to enhance a mediocre image.

Born in 1869 to William and Mary Anne Bailey of Creemore, Ontario, Charles Bailey was the third and youngest son of this Irish-Anglican family. His older brother, William, later his business partner, was born in 1865. Where Charles learned photography may never be determined, but two early possibilities have been uncovered: a Mrs. Fraser is listed as a Creemore photographer in the 1884-1886 County of Simcoe business directory, while a Thomas Bailey, relationship unknown, also worked as a photographer in nearby Crookstown in 1866. He may also have worked in Winnipeg with Fred V. Bingham, J.D. Hall or Skene Lowe (1856-1920).

Charles moved west, probably to Winnipeg, where he may have linked up with Fred V. Bingham. On 20 November, 1886 the Calgary *Weekly Herald* reported that "Mr. C. Bailey" was selling "some photographs of Calgary taken by F.V. Bingham." Bingham himself may not have been in Calgary at the time of Bailey's visit, for the *Herald* noted on 6 November 1886 that Bingham had left for Victoria on 2 November and expected to return in three weeks time with 150 views along the CPR rail line. By late November Bingham seemed to have travelled no further than Banff, although a Vancouver paper was optimistic of a visit to the Terminal City.

C.S. Bailey arrived in Vancouver, no doubt via the CPR, in the late fall of 1887. A photograph taken before the new year began suggests this, as does a listing in the *Vancouver City Directory* (1888) which was compiled in November 1887. Bailey, along with F.V. Bingham and an E. Straube, are listed in the directory as photographers at 113 Carrall Street. Bingham and the mysterious Straube were Bailey's associates in an enterprise known as C.S. Bailey & Co. Bingham and Straube are not listed in the 1889 British Colum-

Orange parade, Cordova at Cambie, 12 July 1893. The Bailey store is the first brick building on the right.

Vancouver Public Library

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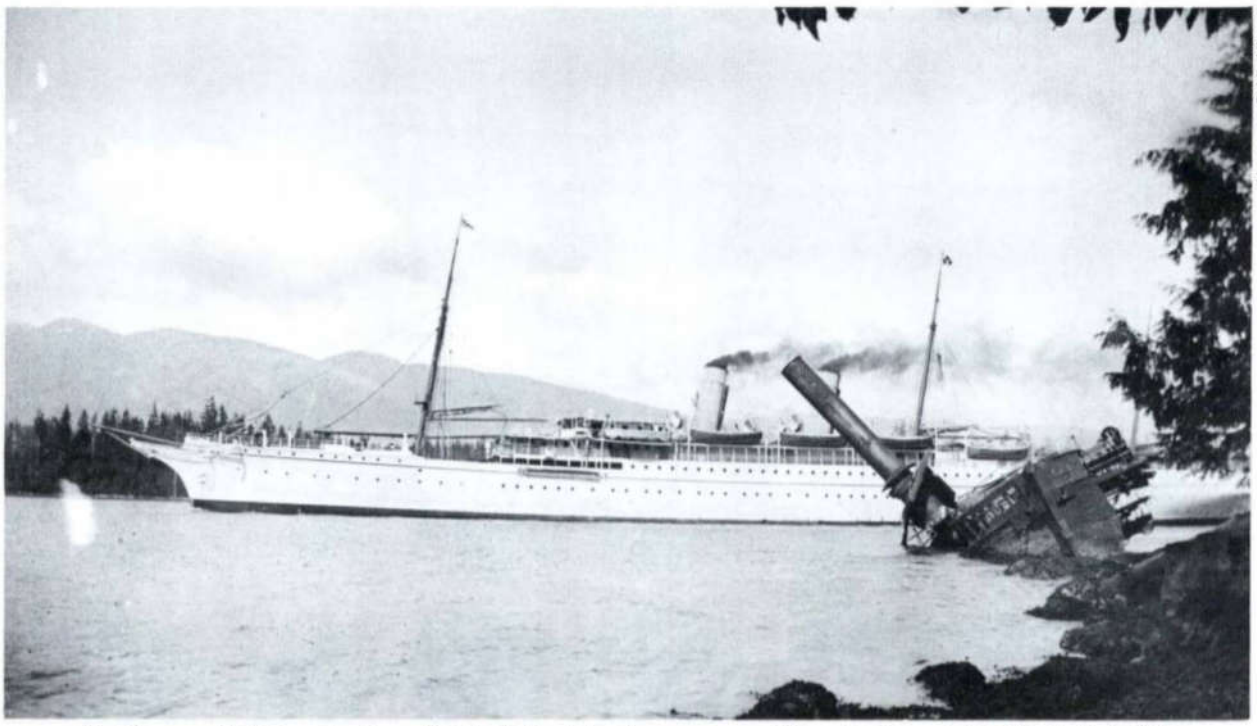
The R.V. Winch & G.E. Bower grocery, 52 Cordova, October 1894. Winch (left) and Bower (right) pose in the doorway with their employees on either side. Below: The Nanaimo hose reel team shown here won the race against firemen from Vancouver on Water Street, 2 July 1890.

Vancouver Public Library

The Sunnyside Hotel at Water and Carrall decorated for Dominion Day, 1890. Below: Part of Vancouver looking east from the Hotel Vancouver, showing the Hudson's Bay Company store, northeast corner of Georgia and Granville, 1893.



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The "Empress of India" passing the wreck of the Hudson's Bay Company steamer "Beaver" at Prospect Point, Stanley Park, 1891.

bia directory and they are presumed to have left the city by that year.

Bailey moved from Carrall Street to 227 (later 329) West Hastings Street in June 1888. The new site was the former home of the post office, a non-descript wooden storefront on the north side of the street between Homer and Hamilton. Bailey had himself photographed in front of his store sometime between 1888 and 1889. He had just turned 19 when the newspaper announced the move.

One of his photographs of a giant spruce tree may have been used as the basis for an 1888 painting by Lucius R. O'Brien (1832-1899) titled "A British Columbian Forest" (see Doreen E. Walker, "Some Early British Columbia Views and Their Photographic Sources," *The Beaver*, Summer 1983). One of his photographs was also included with the YMCA exhibit sent to the 1889 Paris Exposition.

By December 1888 Bailey was calling his store the "Vancouver Art Emporium" and had branched out into what was to become the mainstay of his business career: books, stationery supplies, and items pertaining to photography such as albums and frames. The same month he expanded his business by taking over a store near by.

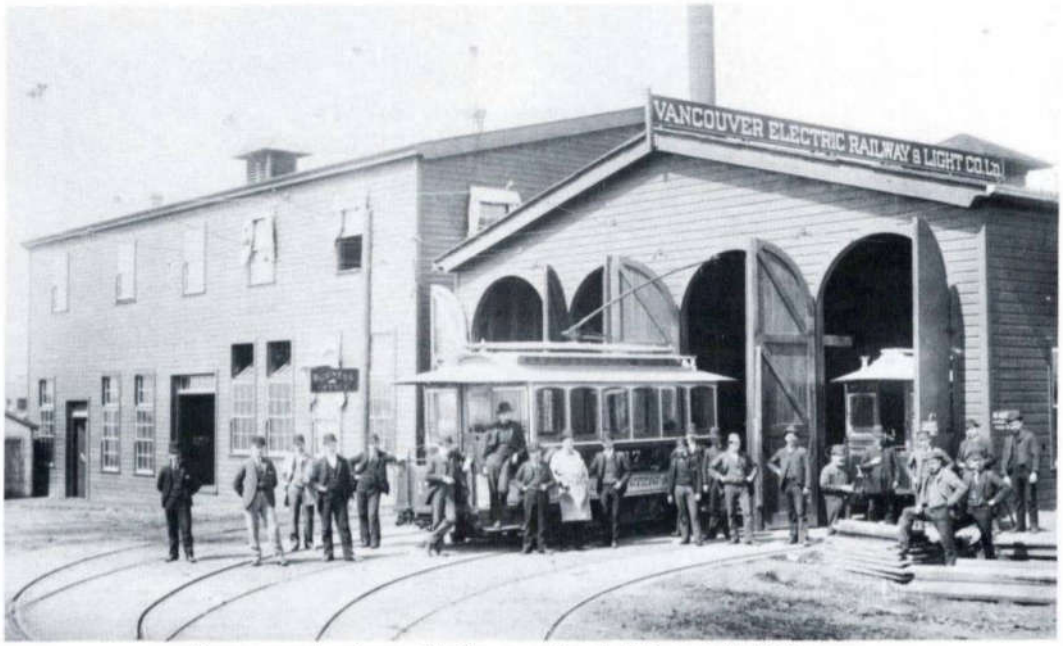
During the summer of 1889, perhaps in July or August, Bailey set up a partnership with Hamilton George Neelands (1859?-1935). The firm was first recognized in October for an award made to Bailey & Neelands for its collection of landscape photographs at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition.

The company relocated in mid-August 1890 to 176 Cordova Street. One of the last notices taken of the Bailey & Neelands partnership came in early December 1890 when a series of photographs prepared as souvenir Christmas cards was described in detail.

William Bailey, who arrived in Vancouver from Winnipeg on 7 December 1890, joined his brother as a business partner. Bailey & Neelands vanished and became the Bailey Brothers. Neelands, reported to have retired due to ill health, did not remain inactive long, for he moved to Nelson the following May and opened a photographic business there with his brother, James F. Neelands.

After working for nine years at the publishing/stationery firm of R.D. Richardson, William Bailey came "highly recommended as a painstaking, obliging, industrious young man." Under his expert guidance — he was likely the accountant and business manager — the Bailey Brothers company began to strengthen its stationery and book business. William's one noted photographic excursion, for which he obtained a free railway pass, came in late August 1892.

Among Charles Bailey's finest work in 1891 was the series of exterior and interior views of the sleek Canadian Pacific ship *Empress of India* beginning in late April with her arrival in Vancouver. Trueman & Caple also photographed the arrival scene from the same



Vancouver Public Library

The owners and workmen of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company, Westminster Avenue (now Main Street), summer 1890.

perspective as Bailey, and shared the same camera platform at approximately the same time.

Perhaps one of the most charming and intriguing sea views is the *Empress of India* sailing past the wreck of the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Beaver.* A painting by an unidentified artist based on this and another Bailey photograph was copyrighted with the Canadian federal government in 1892. As might be expected, Bailey was one of several photographers who made souvenir images of the old steamer as it sank into decay and was finally swept beneath the waters by waves from the *Yosemite* on 13 June 1892.

Charles was busy in 1893 assembling some photographs for the Chicago World's Fair. He was one of several photographers from British Columbia whose images were purchased by the provincial government for display in the Canadian pavilion.

Charles Bailey has the distinction of being the first Canadian commercial photographer to visit and photograph the Republic of Hawaii just after an unsuccessful royalist counter-revolution in January 1895. Also on board the *Miowera* was Eric A. Hegg who would soon become famous as a photographer of the Klondike gold rush.

While Charles was still alive, the Bailey Brothers company made two further moves. In May 1892 they took over a shoe store next door to their shop; by this point 176 Cordova had been renumbered to 160 Cordova. In October 1894 the company moved further east along Cordova to the old premises of the Hudson's Bay Company store (138 Cordova). On 4 September 1895 the Bailey Brothers Company Limited was incorporated under the 1890 Companies' Act; it was only dissolved in 1938 following William's death.

Charles was married to Jennie Johnstone of Vancouver on 24 September 1895 and the couple moved to Kamloops. Charles, frail and ill with tuberculosis, attempted to maintain a branch of the Bailey Brothers store. No evidence has been uncovered that he took photographs while there and he died on 29 November 1896, only 27 years old. He left behind his brother, a wife, an infant son (Charles Edward Bailey, 1896-1969), and several hundred glass negatives and prints.

Both the City of Vancouver Archives and the Vancouver Public Library preserve portions of these priceless negatives and prints. The Dominion Photo Company of Vancouver bought them in the early 1930s for $50 from William Bailey. Due to C.S. Bailey's careful numbering system, which is nearly always chronological, the wide variety of events and subjects he photographed, and the numerous newspaper references to his work, C.S. Bailey's photographs constitute the most prominent and useful visual representation of Vancouver in the nineteenth century.◆

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The Judge and the Serving Girl

A Scandal at Red River

By Dale Gibson

Adam Thom was the first professional judge in what is now Western Canada. He was appointed, commencing 1 July 1839, as Recorder of Rupert's Land, the first full-time, legally-trained judicial officer of the Hudson's Bay Company's General Quarterly Court of Assiniboia. The Court sat at Upper Fort Garry, Red River Settlement. It was composed of the Governor of Assiniboia, several prominent citizens who served as magistrates and, after Thom's appointment, the Recorder. Although he was only one member of the court, the fact that the Recorder was the only lawyer on the tribunal gave him great influence. He was usually referred to as "the judge".

Thom's reign as the first Recorder of Rupert's Land was highly controversial. This was attributable in part, no doubt, to the pioneering nature of the position, and to the Company's often conflicting roles as commercial entrepreneur and disinterested governor. It was also partially the product of Adam Thom's difficult temperament. Some of Thom's misadventures have become familiar episodes of Manitoba history, but one of the earliest of them — a law suit against him in his own court in 1843 by a former member of his household staff — has received little historical attention. It deserves to be better known, since it sheds light on the uncertain legal procedures of the time as well as the unenviable legal and social situation of women in the nineteenth-century frontier society, and the complex personality of the erudite, irascible man who first made a career of administering justice west of the Great Lakes.

Adam Thom was a Scot, educated in classics at

Upper For Garry and the settlement, 1857, from a watercolour by W.H.E. Napier.

Aberdeen University. After trying his hand at diverse occupations in Scotland and England, he settled in Montreal in 1832. He took up a career in journalism there and, after a few years, began simultaneously to study law. He was called to the bar of Lower Canada in 1837, while retaining his position as editor of the Montreal *Herald*.

When Lord Durham came to Canada in 1838 to investigate and report upon popular dissatisfaction with the governments of Upper and Lower Canada, Thom joined his staff, and subsequently returned with him to England to help in the drafting of Durham's historic report. It is believed that Adam Thom, whose hostility to most things French had been made clear in his newspaper editorials, was largely responsible for those portions of the Durham report that called for suppression of the French culture. While still in London, Thom was approached by Sir George Simpson, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the offer to become the first Recorder of Rupert's Land. He accepted.

Because Thom would be accompanied by a new wife when establishing his home at Red River, he decided to engage a woman to act as servant/companion for his wife, and governess for their eventual children. His search for such a person took him back to Aberdeen, where, with the assistance of a relative by the name of Bisset, he hired a young Scottish woman named Helen Rothney for the position.

Manitoba Archives

Little is known about Rothney's antecedents. It is known that both of her parents were living at the time she was engaged by Thom, but that they lived apart. Since the arrangements were made (by Bisset on Thom's behalf) with the mother, rather than the father, it would appear that the mother had legal responsibility for Helen, who, being in her late teens, was not yet of full legal age. This fact, coupled with the inability of a recent researcher to find any reference to a Rothney family living at the time in the Aberdeen area (other than the existence of a suburb known as Rothney), would suggest illegitimacy.

Helen Rothney was employed by Thom for a five-year term, commencing 16 March 1839. The salary was to be £24 per year, payable every six months. The payments were not to be made to Rothney at the time they fell due, however; all but such sums as might be necessary for her "immediate needs" were to be retained by Thom as a debt until the termination of the contract period, and then paid to her together with accrued interest. Thom later claimed to be unaware of the stipulation that wages would accrue due every six months; he treated them as accruing annually. Otherwise, he and Rothney appear to have been in agreement as to the terms of the arrangement.

Rothney served the Thoms until November 1842. There appears to have been considerable tension between her and her employers during much of that time, punctuated by periodic threats of both dismissal and resignation.

Life in remote Red River must have been tedious and lonely at times for a lively young woman. The Thom household, established in a relatively comfortable but far from spacious building within the stone walls of Lower Fort Garry, offered few opportunities for diversion or relaxation. Adam Thom's overbearing personality, and his preoccupation, when not pursuing legal matters, with rather arid, sometimes fantastical, theological questions, must have been difficult to escape. Mrs. Thom, who was a timid woman, appears to have exercised little influence. Mrs. Thom's childlessness, as the months and then the years passed, may have contributed to the tensions in the home; it certainly kept Helen's duties to a minimum.

There were undoubtedly distractions for Helen in the bustling activities in and around the Stone Fort, but Thom appears to have done his level best to "shield" her from them. After Mr. Bisset had reached agreement with Helen and her mother as to the terms of employment, he had warned Thom to "have her as much about your person as possible from the time of her arrival." Bisset's fear, he said, was "from men." The scrupulosity of Thom's chaperoning seems to have

Adam Thom: An overbearing personality.

been one of the items of contention between him and his young employee.

Helen's social urges could not be suppressed altogether, however. One of the friends she made was a Hudson's Bay Company clerk named William Drever. That friendship blossomed into a love affair, and, in the summer of 1843, Helen Rothney discovered that she was pregnant.

Although it is not known just when her condition came to light, the likelihood is good that it was during a bitter argument with the normally unassertive Mrs. Thom about the second week of November 1842. Helen was about five months pregnant at the time, and although she might have been able to hide her condition under the bulky female apparel of the day until then, she couldn't have done so much longer. Helen's employment with the Thoms was terminated during that November confrontation, and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that her pregnancy was the cause.

It was the termination of her service with the Thoms, and their refusal to pay her the back wages they still held, that caused Helen Rothney to sue the judge in the General Quarterly Court of Assiniboia. The case was heard about the middle of February 1843. The best known contemporary account of it is a terse comment written in April by Letitia Hargrave, wife of a Company official at York Factory, in a letter to her mother:

> Mrs. Thom at Red River fought with her Scotch servant and turned her off. The girl laid her case before the magistrates who unanimously espoused her case and settled that Thom should pay her up to the end of the engagement with expenses home. She compromised however on his resisting altho' the magistrates gave a power to seize his effects and she took only what was due for past service. Thom is Recorder of the Settlement and must know the law — the magistrates were indignant at her compromising.

Letitia Hargrave lived a long distance away from Red River, and her account of the Rothney/Thom dispute is far from satisfactory. It omits several key facts, some of which, such as the reason for the dispute, Mrs. Hargrave probably knew. It is probably also somewhat inaccurate as to the outcome of the case: the Court does not seem to have ordered payment of Rothney's travel expenses, and there is no evidence, either, of any order authorizing seizure of the judge's effects. Above all, the Hargrave account leaves us with a number of tantalizing mysteries.

(a) Why did Thom, a law-abiding, if choleric, man, refuse to pay Rothney what he obviously owed her when she left his service?

(b) What sort of pressure could Thom have brought to bear on Rothney to induce her to accept less than she was awarded by the Court?

If we add a fact that Letitia Hargrave did not mention — that Helen Rothney and William Drever were eventually married, but not until 20 March 1843, after the legal dispute was settled, and after Helen's child was born — another mystery emerges:

(c) Why did Helen Rothney endure, alone, the ordeal of suing the settlement's judge in his own court, and the agony of unmarried pregnancy in a tiny, self-righteous nineteenth-century community? Would her situation not have been considerably eased by marrying Drever as soon as she knew she was pregnant, or at least as soon as she left the Thom household in November?

There is very little explicit contemporary evidence available to assist in the solution of these puzzles. The

preserved records of the General Quarterly Court did not commence until the following year. The most useful document is an extraordinary "Circular" of thirteen foolscap pages which Thom sent to the magistrates after the conclusion of the court hearing, but before the compromise was reached. This rambling memorandum purports to set out Thom's reasons for claiming that the jury verdict against him was contrary to law. It contains both assertions of fact and considerable innuendo. Thom's run-on sentences and his often oblique language make problems for modern readers but a patient analysis of the circular discloses much, and suggests even more, touching upon the question passed above.

WHY DID THE JUDGE REFUSE TO PAY?

Thom did not deny his liability to Rothney altogether. He admitted that he had paid her only £24 (one year's salary) during the more than three years she was with him and his family. He acknowledged that he had retained the remainder of the wages earned, together with appropriate interest, as a debt owing to Rothney. But this, he pointed out, was in accordance with the arrangement, even as Rothney understood it. Thom's position appears to have been that it was Rothney who violated the contract by resigning, without due cause, before the end of the stipulated five-year term. As he claimed to understand the law, this entitled Rothney only to wages until the last anniversary date of the contract — 16 March 1842 — and he seems to have offered her that amount. Not surprisingly, she refused, claiming to be paid at least to the date of termination, and perhaps, on the basis of unjust dismissal, for a longer period. Thom seems to have taken the stand that if she would not accept what was offered, she would have to sue him for the entire amount owing.

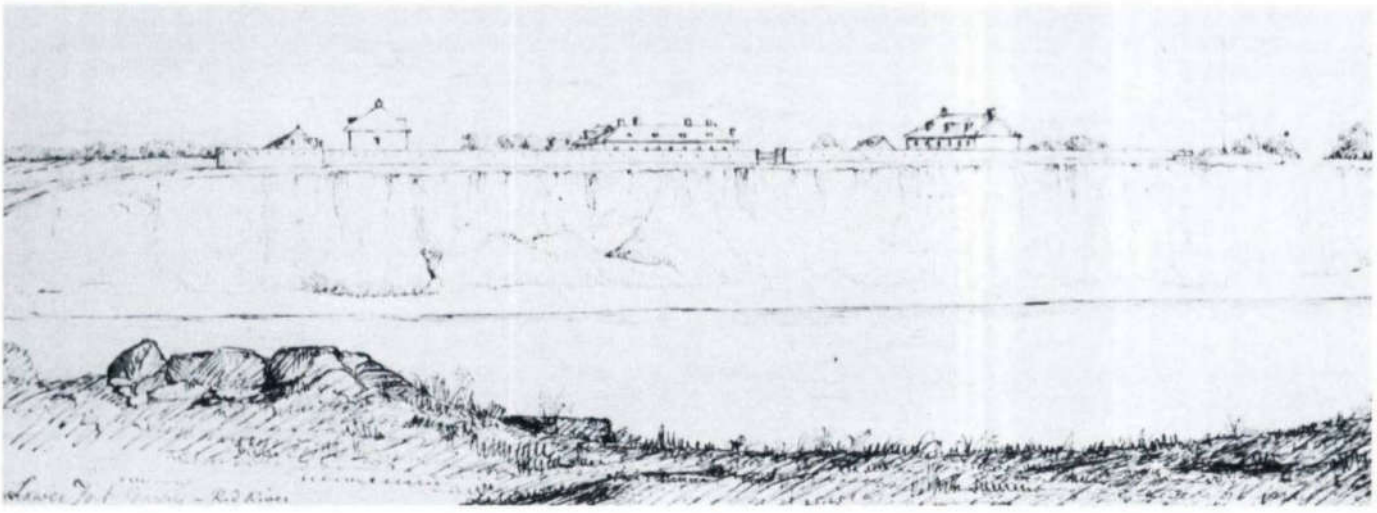
Thom's interpretation of the law in this regard was questionable, and he was a good enough lawyer to realize that. One suspects that if he had not allowed anger, or other extraneous factors, to overbear his legal judgment, Thom would not have allowed the matter to go to litigation. Why was he so angry? He might simply have been annoyed to lose Helen's services at that particular time (Mrs. Thom having just disclosed she was finally pregnant) or he may have been genuinely indignant about what he regarded as immoral conduct on Rothney's part. Neither explanation offers a completely convincing rationale for Thom's stubbornness, however. One wonders whether something else might have caused him to dig in his heels. One such possibility will be examined later.

HOW DID THOM PERSUADE ROTHNEY TO COMPROMISE?

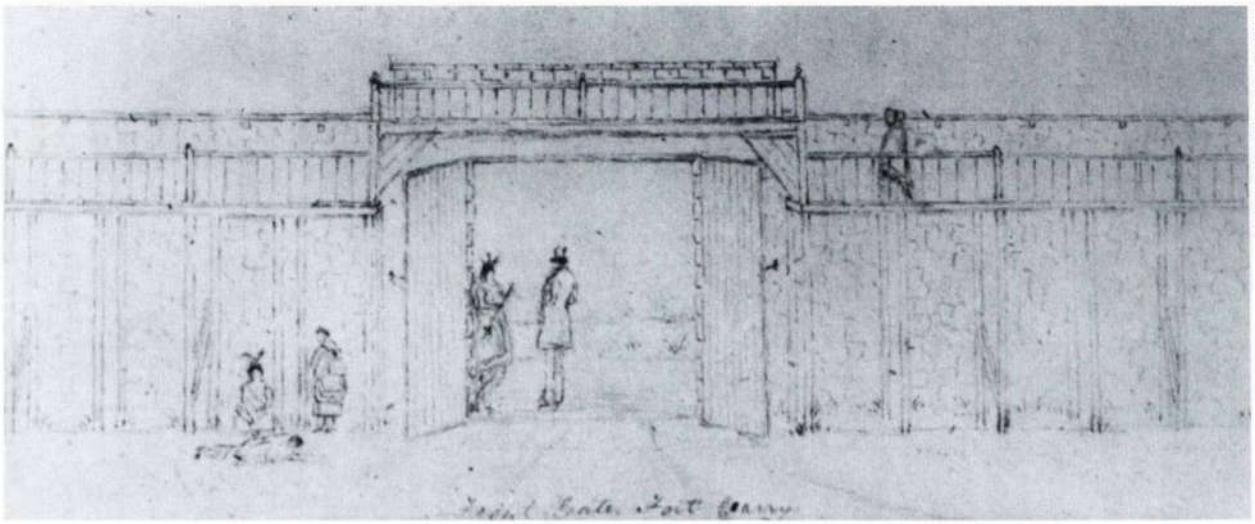
The short answer to the second mystery is that Helen Rothney was induced to settle for less than she was awarded by the jury because Adam Thom threatened to appeal the verdict, thus raising the threat of both delay and possible reversal of the award. That answer prompts further questions however.

From a lawyer's point of view, the most intriguing of these is whether Thom had any right to appeal under the procedures applicable to the Red River courts at the time. At the beginning of the trial, Thom raised a preliminary objection to the fact that he had not been given sufficient notice of the action. He was assured by one of the magistrates that if he were dissatisfied with the court's decision, he would be able to appeal it. He later said that although this suggestion caused some initial "alarm" among the other magistrates, they eventually "tacitly conceded" the possibility of an appeal. The magistrates were not lawyers, how-

View of Lower Fort Garry from the opposite bank of the Red River. Sketch by George E. Finlay, 1847.



Glenbow Archives



Hudson's Bay Company Archives

A view of the interior of the south gate of Upper Fort Garry in the 1840s by Isobel Finlayson.

ever, and Thom was. He must have known that the laws of Assiniboia, which he himself had drafted, made no express provision for appeal from the decisions of the General Quarterly Court.

It would have been open to a losing litigant to petition the Council of Assiniboia, the legislative body for the district. It has always been possible in British-based legal systems for legislatures to overturn the decisions of courts (subject, in modern Canada, to certain constraints imposed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and to other constitutional restrictions). In the mid-nineteenth century, it would not have seemed surprising for someone who lost in the courts to seek relief in the legislative arena. Regular intra-judicial appeal mechanisms were not as common as they are today, and it was still possible in the United Kingdom, in some circumstances, to have Parliament review the decisions of certain courts by means of "writs of error".

While such a petition to the council was the only type of "appeal" that Thom would likely have thought possible at the beginning of the proceedings, and while he might have continued to regard it as a last resort, his Circular to the magistrates revealed that he later hit upon a more direct, and considerably more controversial, method of challenging the jury's verdict. It was probably the novelty of Thom's approach, as much as anything, that made the magistrates "indignant", as Letitia Hargrave reported. When he learned of their annoyance, Thom first proposed to explain his position to them in open court, but he was persuaded by Governor Finlayson to communicate with them (and with Helen Rothney as well) in writing instead. The Circular was Thom's written explanation to the magistrates of his unusual method of "appeal", as well as of the grounds upon which the appeal would be based. He appears to have written to Rothney in similar vein.

To understand Thom's legal arguments it will be helpful to outline the manner in which the trial had proceeded.

After Thom abandoned his initial objection to the shortness of notice, the court called upon Helen Rothney to present evidence in support of her claim. She had apparently given a written deposition to one of the magistrates prior to the hearing, and it is not unlikely that the magistrate in question would have attempted to have the court accept the written statement in lieu of verbal testimony from Rothney. This would have shielded her from the possibility of cross-examination by Adam Thom. If such an attempt was indeed made, it was unsuccessful; Rothney was called upon to explain her claim verbally in open court.

She was allowed, however, to make her statement in an unsworn form (without submitting to either an oath or a solemn affirmation). This unusual procedure is difficult to justify. Evidence of an adult witness was normally required to be given under oath or affirmation. The best explanation that can be found for the magistrate's decision to dispense with sworn testimony from Rothney is the suggestion made in Thom's circular that they were following the informal procedures adopted by certain English Courts of Requests when dealing with claims for unpaid wages or other small debts. If this was indeed the rationale for exempting Helen Rothney from the obligation to swear or affirm, Thom was right in saying that it was a misplaced analogy.

It should not have followed from the fact that Rothney's testimony was unsworn that it would also be immune from cross-examination. The court appears,

however, to have taken that position. There is no suggestion in Thom's lengthy circular of any admissions wrung from Rothney or her witnesses (who also testified informally) by force of his cross-examination. (There is reference to an admission by Rothney of having received one year's wages from Thom, but that was probably in response to a question from one of the magistrates — perhaps Thom's close friend John McCallum — rather than to cross-examination by Thom.) Thom complained in the circular of "having been deprived by the plaintiff of the only means of proving his own case", and it is difficult to imagine any way in which Rothney's behaviour could have prevented Thom's proving his case except by dodging cross-examination.

In addition to her own verbal testimony, and that of her two witnesses (probably members or friends of the household who spoke about Thom's previous threats of dismissal), Rothney also presented, to Thom's apparent surprise, the memorandum from Thom's relative, Mr. Bisset, to Rothney's mother, setting out the terms of the employment contract. She had apparently requested her mother to forward it from Scotland, which may explain the lengthy delay — between November and February — in commencing her legal action against Thom, and perhaps also the shortness of notice. Thom objected to the production of the document. He argued that its authenticity was impossible to prove in the absence of either Bisset or Rothney's mother, and that being unsigned and unseen by him, it could not in any event be legally binding upon him. While the objections he raised might be seriously considered by a modern court in circumstances where other corroborative evidence of the contract would be easier to obtain, it is difficult to fault the General Quarterly Court for accepting and relying upon the document in the circumstances which then prevailed.

Then it was Thom's turn. But he declined to call evidence on his own behalf. He may have felt that it was beneath him to offer testimony to magistrates who were normally his subordinates. Or he may have accepted that there was nothing of direct legal significance that he could add to the story told by Helen Rothney and her witnesses; he would never have perjured himself. In any event, he contented himself with commenting upon what he regarded as the inadequacy of the evidence presented by the plaintiff. It is probable that he made these comments as part of a "non-suit" motion to the governor and magistrates, requesting them to remove the case from the jury because the plaintiff's evidence was insufficient to support her claim. There is a suggestion in the circular that such a motion was made, and was rejected by a majority of the bench.

Alternatively, he would have made his remarks in an address to the jury. A defendant who calls no evidence has the right to address the jury last. This is regarded as a tactical advantage, since it enables that party to leave the final impression in the jurors' minds. The advantage was of no avail to Adam Thom, however, if he did in fact address the jury; the verdict went against him.

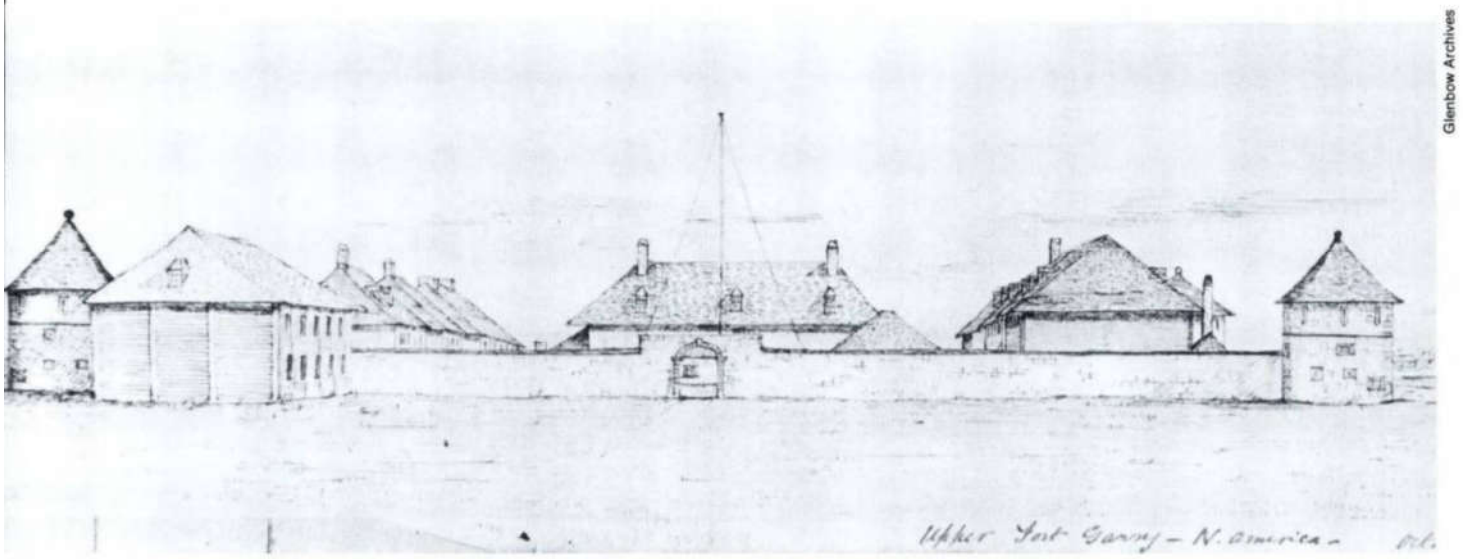
The most surprising feature of the jury's verdict was that it awarded Helen Rothney wages for the *entire* term of her contract, including the fifth year, which had not yet begun. She had claimed only for the period up to the end of the current contract year — 16 March 1843. While it may have been possible to construct a legal argument entitling her to five years' wages, if she had claimed for it, Thom was undoubtedly on strong legal ground when he contended in his circular that a verdict for more than the amount claimed was illegal.

Thom made it clear before the court adjourned that he would appeal the jury's verdict. An appeal to the Council of Assiniboia would have involved considerable delay, however. The council met irregularly and infrequently. Only three meetings had been held since Thom's appointment in 1839, and although a meeting was eventually held on 3 July 1843, it had probably not yet been scheduled when Thom was considering what to do about the Rothney decision. He chose, therefore, to pursue a more rapid but less orthodox course. It was based upon a legal slip-up on the part of the legally unsophisticated governor and magistrates at the conclusion of the hearing.

Jury verdicts do not have direct legal force. Before a verdict can be binding on the parties, it must be made the subject of a formal order or judgment by the court itself. This formality was overlooked by the governor and magistrates. Thom therefore took the position — a legally correct one — that the proceeding was not yet complete. This enabled him to argue that the court (governor and magistrates) still had a role to play in the matter, and that this role included rejecting the jury's verdict if they found it to be contrary to law. Much of his circular was devoted to persuading the magistrates that they had this power, and that there was legal justification for exercising it.

Although the argument that the court could overturn the jury's verdict was unusual, it was not lacking in legal support. The same position was taken many years later in a notorious law suit between the then Premier of Alberta, John Brownlee, and his secretary, Vivian MacMillan. The cases had other interesting parallels as well.

MacMillan claimed to have been seduced by Brownlee, and she and her father brought a legal action against him under Alberta legislation imposing legal liability for seduction. The case was initially heard by a judge and jury. The jury's verdict supported the plaintiff's claim, but the trial judge set the verdict aside, and gave judgment for the defendant. The



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The north prospect of Upper Fort Garry from an 1847 sketch by George E. Finlay.

Alberta Court of Appeal upheld the trial decision by a majority. Chief Justice Harvey, for the majority, reviewed the legal authorities which, in his opinion, clearly supported the power of a trial judge to set aside a jury verdict not in accordance with law. The dissenting judges did not disagree with that position; they were simply of the view that there was nothing contrary to law about the jury's decision in favour of the plaintiff. When the case was subsequently appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the decision in favour of the plaintiff was reinstated but, again, this was on the basis of an interpretation of the applicable law. There was nothing in the higher level decisions to disagree with Chief Justice Harvey's view that trial judges have the authority to reject jury verdicts that are not in accordance with laws.

Adam Thom was right, therefore, in his assertion that the governor and magistrates could set aside the jury's verdict in favour of Helen Rothney if it were legally invalid. And it probably was invalid; no court has the power to award a larger sum than that which has been claimed by the plaintiff. Thom argued that the excessive award nullified the entire verdict. "The unsound part vitiates the single and undivided whole . . .", he contended. In other words, he claimed, the court could not simply reduce the amount of the award to a legally appropriate level; it was compelled to reject the entire decision. Here Thom was on softer ground. Given the plenary jurisdiction of the court, and the fact that its rudimentary procedural regulations were silent as to the relationship between court and jury, the governor and magistrates probably had the power to make a formal order in favour of the plaintiff for such proportion of the jury's award as the law permitted.

It is probable that Thom did not really want the court to reopen the case and rule upon his "appeal". The chief purpose of his circular seems to have been to create pressure that would induce the plaintiff to accept a compromise settlement. Toward the end of the document he stated that:

> But to put an end to the matter the defendant is willing somewhat to enlarge his former offer, not because he has changed his view but because he desires to save the plaintiff the mortification of accepting what she has already refused — provided always that the court will either condemn the verdict or the plaintiff withdraw it; but till one or other of those courses is adopted, the defendant . . . will not name any definite addition.

The tactic worked. Helen Rothney agreed to accept a reduced sum — apparently the wages earned up to the date her employment was terminated.

WHY DID HELEN AND WILLIAM DELAY BEING MARRIED?

The decision by Helen Rothney to bear the legal and social ordeals alone, rather than as William Drever's wife, is the most puzzling mystery of all. Why did they put off being married?

Drever's Absence? The period between Rothney's termination and the date of the trial — mid-November to mid-February — was a time when some Company employees would be away from the settlement, making contact with trappers, or conducting other Company business. One obvious explanation for Helen's delay

in marrying William, then, is that he may have been absent. That does not appear to have been the case, however. The circular tells us that Helen's "friend" (Drever) was communicating with her via a Thom family domestic shortly after she left his employ, and that at the time of the trial her money was also being looked after by (presumably the same) "friend".

Reluctance of the Parties? Rothney might have preferred to leave Red River and have her child quietly elsewhere. If that had been her wish, however, there would probably still have been time in November to do so. The two years' wages that Thom was undoubtedly willing to pay her at that point would have made it financially possible. That she chose to remain at Red River, and that she eventually married Drever, indicate that she probably had no intention to escape. Drever might not have wished to marry her, of course, but the fact that he eventually did so, and that he apparently remained in close communication with her after she left the Thom household, does not indicate reluctance on his part.

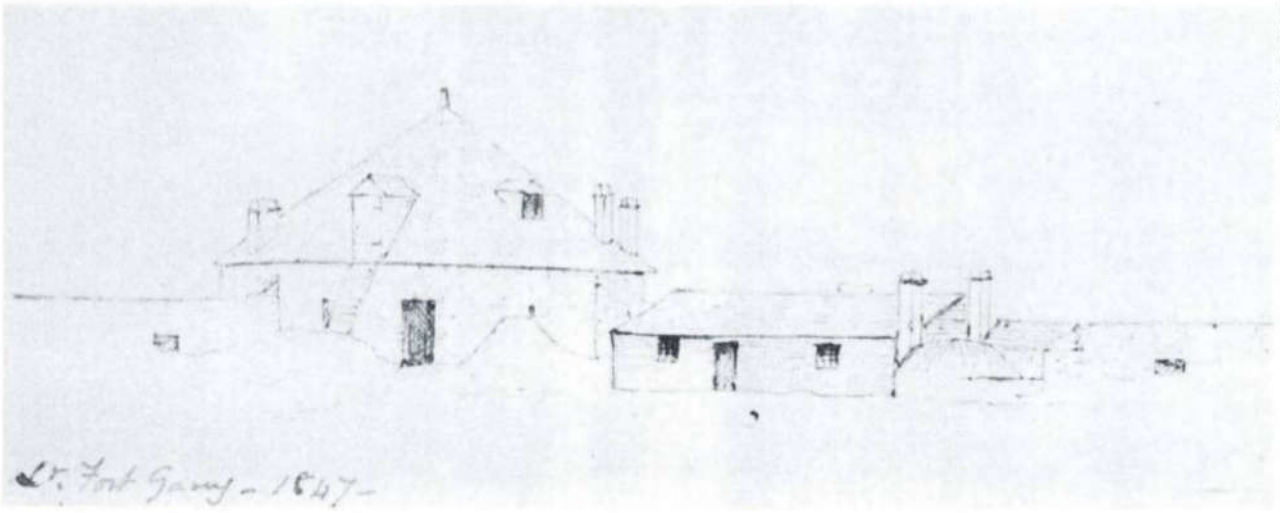
Obstacles of Marriage Law? Being Scottish, both Rothney and Drever were probably Presbyterians. The Council of Assiniboia Regulations do show uncertainty about the right of the Presbyterian clergy to conduct marriages at Red River. In any event, there does not appear to have been a Presbyterian clergyman in the area. However, the 1851 edition of the Regulations, and the accompanying report by Adam Thom, both indicate that while possibly only Anglican and Catholic clergy had the right to marry, the governor always had a discretion to grant marriage licenses. As the ultimate source of legal authority in the settlement, the governor probably even had the power to conduct marriage ceremonies in the absence of qualified or willing clergy. It appears that Rothney and Drever were eventually married in an Anglican church. They could have been as easily married by an Anglican clergyman in November 1842 as in March 1843.

Inferior Legal Status of Married Women? The common law applicable to the Red River Settlement at the time was that of England in 1670 (the year the Hudson's Bay Company Charter was granted). According to that law, married women did not have the legal capacity to sue in their own names. If Helen had married William, therefore, she could not have sued Thom by herself. She could have sued in her husband's name with his consent, however. If the action had been brought after marriage, in Drever's name, William would have been legally entitled to retain the damage award himself. By suing, before marriage, in her own name, Rothney had a slightly stronger equitable claim to retain the sum awarded by the court than would have otherwise been the case. It is hard to believe, though, that such a slight legal advantage would have been considered as sufficiently important to postpone marriage, given the urgency of Helen's situation.

Drever's Fear of Repercussions? It is possible that Drever feared retaliation by the Company, for which both he and Thom worked, for suing its judge in his own court. This also seems unlikely, in view of both what is known about Drever's character and the fact that the Company would not be injured in any way by the litigation against Thom.

Rothney Wanted Thom to be Considered the Father? There is textual evidence suggesting the possibility that Helen Rothney may have wanted others to believe that Thom was the father of her child. Thom claimed that she "intended to convey some idea of connection

South-west bastion of Lower Fort Garry in the winter of 1847, by George E. Finlay. Adam Thom resided at Lower Fort Garry on the Red River near Lake Winnipeg. Court proceedings took place at Upper Fort Garry at the site of present day Winnipeg.



Glenbow Archives

between the alleged friendlessness and the alleged dismissal". What possible connection could there have been between Helen's "friend*less*ness" and her dismissal, other than the fact that she was pregnant and, having no male friends outside the Thom family, she must have been rendered so by the judge?

It is interesting that in the original draft of the circular, which appears to have been written by a clerk at Thom's dictation, he spoke of having "personal" knowledge of her intent, and that in later revisions made in Thom's own hand the word "personal" was replaced by the word "certain". This could indicate that Thom had learned about Rothney's intended meaning from a private communication between her and either his wife or himself, but that he realized use of the word "personal" might strengthen her innuendo.

The fact that Rothney is described by Thom as having had the "presence of mind" during the final interview to deny the existence of a "friend" might indicate that he was accusing her of premeditation — a deliberate attempt to implicate Thom in her predicament. If Thom believed that Rothney had deliberately suggested to his wife that he was responsible for Rothney's pregnancy, his angry refusal to pay her what he undeniably owed her would become easier to understand.

This hypothesis is open to objections. For one thing, such premeditated behaviour seems incompatible with what we know of Helen Rothney's forthright character. Moreover, if Thom had thought he might be the father of Rothney's child, he would certainly not have placed such great emphasis on the "friendlessness" point in his circular, since it placed him in a bad light. On the other hand, his courage and feistiness were such that if he knew himself to be innocent, he might well have attacked the suggestion head on.

It would be reasonable to conclude that Thom believed he had been accused of fathering Rothney's child, but that he was mistaken in this belief. Perhaps Rothney, in the course of her heated argument with Mrs. Thom, had claimed not to have a friend because she was still futilely trying to deny her pregnancy, or because, due to some temporary falling-out, she did not at the moment regard Drever as her "friend". Mrs. Thom could easily have misinterpreted such a comment as a veiled accusation against her husband.

Possibility That Thom Would Counter-claim Against Drever? The common law gave to employers who lost the services of unmarried female employees due to pregnancy the right to sue the man responsible. Parents had the same right with respect to unmarried daughters. This was known as suing for "seduction". Given Thom's combative character, it is highly likely that he would have sued Drever for seduction if he had been able to prove Drever's responsibility for Rothney's condition. This likelihood is enhanced by the fact that, according to the circular, Thom saw himself as having a personal responsibility, akin to that of a parent, for Rothney's well-being.

If Rothney had married Drever as soon as her pregnancy was obvious, that would have been seen as sufficient evidence of Drever's paternity. This would have meant that if Drever had sued Thom for Helen's wages the judge would have been able to counterclaim for "seduction", and the resulting damages that would have offset some or all of the wage claim. If we assume that the lovers were otherwise willing and able to marry before March, this seems the most plausible explanation for their not having done so.

Would Rothney and Drever have known enough about the law to have taken account of the possible counterclaim for seduction? There is a good chance that they would have known this themselves, without needing to consult a lawyer, since seduction actions were fairly common legal events in those days. There was, in any case, another lawyer they could have consulted at Red River. John Black, a Scottish solicitor, had come to this settlement in 1839 to act as Thom's assistant, but had in fact been given little legal work to do, being employed instead as a Company clerk. Black would have been in daily contact with Drever; they must have worked in close proximity, if not side by side. Moreover, Black had lived in the Thom household for a period after they all first arrived at Red River, and he would therefore have been well acquainted with Helen Rothney. It would have been entirely natural for Black (perhaps harbouring some resentment against Thom for not having given him greater opportunity to use his legal expertise) to have offered informal legal advice to Helen and her lover.

The right of employers and parents to sue the seducers of their employees and children was not abolished in Manitoba until 1982. Alberta did not repeal the legislation under which Premier Brownlee was sued until 1984. The anguish of Helen Rothney during the winter of 1842-3 at Red River shows, in part, why the reform was long overdue. ◆

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Diplomats At War

Canada's Embattled Envoys, 1939-1940

By Frederick J. McEvoy

"It is lots of fun to travel in a boxcar, pitch dark (only someone produced a candle) without springs through inky tunnels with a bunch of wise-cracking Swiss . . ." This, Harriot Rive reported to her family in the United States in September 1939, was how she spent her honeymoon. She and husband Alfred were married in Cambridge, England, on 29 August. Hitler invaded Poland on 1 September and two days later Britain was at war. The Rives were forced to dash for Switzerland, where Alfred was on the staff of the Canadian delegation to the League of Nations in Geneva. They had difficulty in making their way through a France mobilizing for war. With space on trains impossible to obtain, they and 250 others were forced to cross the Swiss border in boxcars normally used for livestock. It was a foretaste of what they and other Canadian diplomatic families would experience in the spring of 1940 when the German blitzkrieg swept across western Europe.

At that time Canada had four diplomatic missions on the continent: legations in France, Belgium and the Netherlands and the delegation in Geneva. There was no question of closing these missions until the last minute. While the safety of the personnel was the first consideration, the Department of External Affairs told its staff, it was also necessary to take into account the adverse effects on local opinion if the Canadians departed too precipitately. The urgency of the situation had to be clearly established.

There was no argument when the Germans ended the "phony war" by rolling across the low countries. The ordeal of the Canadians in the Netherlands proved to be the shortest in duration. As the Minister to Belgium, resident in Brussels, was also the Minister to the Netherlands, the office in The Hague was headed by a chargé d'affaires, Kenneth Kirkwood. A veteran of Canada's fledgling diplomatic service, he had joined the department in 1928, serving in Washington and Tokyo before his appointment to The Hague in 1939.

On 10 May he reported that continuous bombing had taken place since four o'clock that morning and evacuation facilities from the city were temporarily blocked. Three days later he reported that all were well though their freedom of movement was restricted; the next day he and his staff were evacuated by a British destroyer on an hour's notice, being forced to abandon all their property and personal effects. They had endured four days of constant air attacks, bombing and machine-gunning.

They were met in England by Lester Pearson, at that time second-in-command at the High Commission in London, who vividly described their appearance in his diary:

> They looked tired, unkempt and unshaven and were pretty nearly all in. They had been bombed and machine gunned on the way over, both on land and while they were on the destroyer. Scenes in The Hague around Ken's home were fantastic in the extreme. Parachutists landed close by and Fifth Column Nazis suddenly appeared out of buildings and adjoining Dutch Government Offices. Ken said that he was not able to leave the house at all because firing was going on all over the city. When they did get away they were only given half an hour's notice, when it seemed clear that The Hague would soon be cut off. As a result they got nothing away except the clothes they were wearing.

In fact, they were the lucky ones.

Kirkwood's superior in Brussels was not so fortunate. Jean Désy was also a veteran diplomat, having served as counsellor in Ottawa from 1925 and in Paris from 1928, until his dual appointment to Belgium and the Netherlands in 1939. He too reported bombing on 10 May, as a result of which the families of staff were sent by car to Coxyde, a resort on the coast near France. He soon adopted a peripatetic existence, following the Belgian government about as it vainly sought safety before the German onslaught.

On 12 May Désy and members of his staff not already evacuated left with the Belgian government for Ostend in two cars, bringing with them stationery and other essential equipment. It was, he later reported to Ottawa, the first of eight moves. At Ostend he rejected as inadequate the accommodation that had

National Archives of Canada

Members of Canada's diplomatic corps in London, late 1930s. Top, left to right: Lester B. Pearson, Ross McLean. Bottom, left to right: Georges Vanier, Vincent Massey.

been commandeered for him, putting up instead at a hotel on the beach. He was able to maintain phone connections with Brussels and with the Canadian legation in Paris and managed to obtain a radio to keep abreast of events in the absence of newspapers. His room became a gathering place for less fortunate diplomatic colleagues.

He was able to carry on his work more or less normally, arranging for the evacuation of Canadian citizens, including several nuns of the Clarisse order, keeping in touch with Ottawa by phoning messages to Paris for transmission to Canada. He also arranged for the wife of the British Ambassador and the family of the Belgian Foreign Minister to cross the French frontier without papers. "We did everything we could," he later wrote, "in the greatest confusion and in the most indescribable state of disarray."

The hotel was heavily bombed on the night of 15-16 May, to Désy "a perfect nightmare, due to the fact that, on the seashore, there were no cellars and no shelter of any sort." However, the news that British subjects evacuated by ship had been bombed and machine-gunned "cured us for all time of any desire of having recourse to official means of evacuation." Although Ostend was no longer safe, Désy told the Belgian government that he would keep in touch with them until the last possible moment, which was much appreciated.

Désy and his entourage moved on to Coxyde, camping in the post office for twenty-four hours, when they learned that the Belgian government was leaving for France. On 17 May Désy and two staff members set off for Paris, a distance of 150 miles. However, the flow of refugees had reached its peak and the roads were congested by both military and civilian travellers, with no attempt made to control the resulting chaos. After seven hours they had covered only 30 miles. Those in front of and behind them in the column were machine-gunned by German aircraft.

"At dusk it became obvious that we could not proceed any further. The motors of our cars were overheating. We had no food nor water. We were extremely tired due to lack of sleep during the past seven days." They left the main road to seek shelter. At first they had trouble convincing the local farmers they weren't parachutists but were finally allowed to sleep in barns with other refugees. "The night was cold. The sound of gunfire and explosions could be heard all through the night. Our sleep was brief and uneasy."

They finally reached Paris at noon the next day, only to leave again at five o'clock to follow the Belgian government to Le Havre. When the city was bombed on 20-21 May Désy followed the Belgians to Poitiers, picking up his wife and children who had preceded him to Normandy.

Poitiers was so crammed with refugees that Désy had to arrange to commandeer a farm house 6 miles away. It was not palatial accommodation. "This dwelling was in deplorable shape and a few days of strenuous work was needed to clean and equip it with the bare necessities of life. . . . Much of our time was devoted to finding food, gasoline, wood, coal etc." There was no running water so "an empty hot house was trans-

formed into a bathroom by painting the windows with blue paint, and a round tin tub was installed therein." On 31 May he sent his wife, two children and their nurse to Portugal, where they were able to obtain a Pan American flight home from Lisbon.

Désy was able to prepare in advance for his next move to Bordeaux by taking over the Chateau Lascombes at the request of its owner, General Brutinel, who had commanded Canadian troops during World War I. He went there on 13 June "owing to the ever increasing number of refugees, the scarcity of gasoline and the danger of being shortly faced with shortage of food supplies." The next day he was joined by a party of thirty from the legation in Paris, now also abandoned, and had to scramble to find accommodation for them all.

On the fifteenth he was on the move again, to the city of Hendaye where he obtained poor accommodation. In other cities, he learned, the situation was worse, with the hotels renting "the easy chairs in the lobby with washroom facilities." When he received word that France was about to surrender, Désy decided that it was best to strike out for neutral territory before it was too late. Being outside his jurisdiction, he feared the Germans would treat him as a private citizen without diplomatic immunity if he were captured.

He was just in the nick of time, crossing into Spain on 20 June two hours before the border was closed. He had to argue his way through as his party had no exit visas from the French authorities either for themselves or the cars. Because of strong anti-British sentiment in Franco's Spain he thought it prudent to continue on to Portugal. He was greatly relieved "to have concluded this adventure without loss of or injury to any of the personnel placed under my responsibility . . . the danger was often very real and a tragedy might well have occurred had I not taken in good time every possible precaution." The slight boasting can, under the circumstances, be forgiven.

The Rives, meanwhile, were having further adventures of their own. The intrepid Harriot was now seven months pregnant, but staunchly refused to leave her husband's side. "I have been bothered about Harriot," he wrote to his superior, Hume Wrong, on 13 May, "whether I should pack her off home to have the baby in some nice safe spot the other side of the Atlantic, but when the subject was opened by me as you would know in my most tactful manner I found that I had married as obstinate a woman as ever became a wife."

On the fifteenth Rive took his wife to France. They left with two small suitcases and a favourite pair of silver candlesticks, which at least was more than the unfortunate Kirkwood could manage. He then returned to Geneva. At the beginning of June, when it was apparent that there was no useful purpose to be served by remaining, he closed the office and went to France. "Even at the beginning of June," he reported, "travelling was difficult. On my return to Hendaye a week later to take my wife to the ship at Bordeaux I was twice delayed by bombing raids on the railway, one of them much too close at hand for comfort, and took over two days to make the trip, changing trains no less than six times en route."

On 8 June Harriot caught the last American ship out of Bordeaux, but her trials were not yet over. The ship was stopped by a German U-boat, whose commander ordered the passengers to abandon the ship preparatory to sinking it. For whatever reason, however, he changed his mind and let it go. Alfred made his way to London and then to Ottawa to work in the department there.

The last mission to be closed was the legation in Paris. The minister there was Major-General Georges Vanier, a hero of World War I and a future, much-beloved, governor-general.

By 9 June the military situation of France was desperate, with no hope of Paris being saved. Vanier made preparation to move to a chateau at Pernay, near Tours. The next day he was told by the French government to do so. The legation's five cars were loaded to the brim with staff and their families, personal baggage and government records and stationery. Vanier left his beloved Paris with a sad heart and a poetic description. Smoke, he wrote,

> was blown towards the city and lay over it like a black pall. . . . Thick rolling clouds were pushed on by a strong wind which raised dust and smoke into swirling eddies; papers in the streets flew about in a crazy fashion — nature responding to man's folly. The dry dusty air parched the mouth and tightened the throat — one breathed less easily.

As Vanier's trade commissioner, James Manion, wrote in his memoirs, *A Canadian Errant,* "we simply turned the key in apartments, leaving behind furniture, clothing and memories."

A journey which normally took three hours required seventeen as they were stuck in a line of cars and carts some 30 to 40 miles long. Lacking an official safe conduct, Manion made up an impressive looking document which he had signed by a French general of his acquaintance and used to good effect on the journey. The trip was not without peril, as Manion recorded:

> We came across soldiers hunting in the woods on either side of the road for parachutists who had just come down. We had to travel without lights of any kind, with aeroplanes continually droning overhead. . . . At midnight I stopped the car in an open prairie to avoid getting mixed up in an air-raid alarm which I could hear in the village ahead. But when I began to see blue flares going up from the fields

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

A French tank passes a column of refugees during the crisis of 1940.

on either side of the road, and remembered that parachutists sometimes shot passengers of isolated cars to obtain automobiles and identification papers, I decided it was time to go on, even though I had a huge old-fashioned revolver across my knees.

After only three days in Tours the party moved on to Bordeaux. For safety Manion drove his wife and child and a secretary 60 miles south of Tours, leaving them in a barn with a goat and some chickens for company. He then returned to Tours, loaded up his car and went on to Bordeaux. Upon arrival he learned that the French might surrender at any moment, so he immediately made another trip to bring back the women, forty continuous hours of driving in all. The road "looked like a battlefield because of the many wrecks and wounded lying around. Whatever handkerchiefs I had quickly disappeared, as well as brandy, which was used for external antisepsis."

Because of accommodation difficulties in Bordeaux, the legation party ended up at Margaux where they encountered Désy. On 17 June the women and children were sent to Bordeaux to board a British destroyer which then transferred them to a cargo ship in the port of Le Verdon. This ship remained at anchor for a day while bombing raids occurred in the immediate vicinity. The trip to Britain took two days with yet another night spent at anchor before the passengers went ashore. They were four days and nights aboard with little food or drink and with the majority sleeping on deck, but Mme. Vanier later reported to Georges that "everyone accepted cheerfully the danger and hardships involved in the trip." Her sons made their contribution by announcing mealtimes with a bell, though the menu was invariably canned salmon.

Manion took a later British ship out of the same port, 1,800 people crammed into space that normally held 130. He clung to his share of deck space with great tenacity and, with the British Consul General in Paris and his wife, "found relative protection from the wind under the hammocks which several British sailors had slung among the smoke-stacks." He and his family ultimately arrived back in Halifax 25 days after leaving Paris.

Vanier, as head of mission, remained behind. On 19 June he joined the British Ambassador, Sir Ronald Campbell, in Bordeaux, whose population had swelled from 260,000 to nearly a million in less than a week. People were sleeping in parks and in cars, although the diplomats managed to find hotel space. During the night a bombing raid forced them to take refuge in the wine cellar. "We were a motley crew," Vanier wrote, "surrounded by thousands of bottles — people wandered about the winding corridors discovering new vistas of wine."

On 22 June, at 2:30 in the morning, he and Campbell went to the office of the French prime minister to hear the German armistice terms. It was a depressing moment. "We were shown into a large rectangular entrance hall, with a high ceiling supported by marble columns. . . . The hall was in semi-darkness, feebly lighted by a few electric bulbs which had been dimmed with blue. There was an air of death about the place." The two decided the time had come to leave, lest they risk capture.

They went to Arcachon on 23 June, where they were met by the "welcome sound of the waves breaking on the seashore." After a few hours of sleep they boarded a small sardine boat, "*Le Cygne*" — "no boat ever looked less like a swan!" — and headed out to sea to meet a British destroyer. It could not wait, however, and after three hours of pitching and tossing in a drenching rain they were picked up by a Canadian ship, H.M.C.S. *Fraser* instead. That pleased Vanier greatly. After a further few hours they were transferred to the British ship *Galatea* at St. Jean-de-Luz. They sailed for England shortly after midnight on the 24th. Vanier later wrote:

> At three a.m. I went on deck: a full moon shed a silver light over the sea. The sky was clear save to the East, where great clouds weaved a shroud over France. At eight-thirty p.m. we reached Plymouth. The exhilarating trip in the cruiser was in sharp contrast to the melancholy story of the Legation's retreat from Paris to Bordeaux.

They arrived in London the next morning.

All Canadian diplomats evaded capture by the Germans. All underwent hardship and even danger in the process, including the abandonment of most of their possessions. In such circumstances little things could mean much, like the Rives' salvaging of their prized candlesticks or, as Charles Ritchie recorded in his published diaries, *The Siren Years*, Mme. Vanier's emotional response to the unexpected arrival in London of her hat-box, which she never thought to see again.

Their losses, however, made little impression on the bureaucratic heart of official Ottawa. On his arrival in London, Kirkwood tried to impress upon the department his "destitute" condition, appealing for authorization to immediately replace his essential clothing at government expense. External Affairs grudgingly agreed to the grand sum of forty pounds, stressing that "no undertaking can be given as to Government assistance until the whole question is reviewed in which a number of departments are concerned." There would be no circumvention of the inter-departmental labyrinth. This response elicited a disgusted entry in Pearson's diary for 15 May:

> Kirkwood received a telegram from Ottawa today which did not, as one might have expected, congratulate him on his safe arrival from Holland, but rather emphasized the fact that they could give no assurance of compensation for the loss of his effects. They are certainly an insensitive lot in the Department. Even Trade and Commerce had the decency to send a telegram to their men saying how glad they were they had gotten out safely.

National Archives of Canada

The Vaniers and their children in the early 1930s. In 1940 they accepted difficult conditions cheerfully.

As usual, the governmental mills ground slowly. External Affairs brought the question of compensation to the attention of the Treasury Board on 21 August 1940. At an interdepartmental meeting on 6 November it was decided that all claims for compensation would be closely examined and reduced when deemed advisable. This ungenerous policy could have been harsher — the Auditor General suggested that compensation should take the form of a loan, either interest-free or at a low rate of interest, but this was declared "impracticable". "Unconscionable" would have been a more appropriate term.

As it was, Treasury Board's decision, announced on 14 December, decreed that compensation would be paid only on receipt of a detailed list of the property lost with the value of each item as per its condition when lost, accompanied by a sworn statement giving the circumstances of the loss, the location of the property when abandoned, and what efforts had been made to salvage or store it. No circumstances, apparently, could justify ignoring the government's appetite for paperwork.

But at least the diplomats were safe and able to contribute to Canada's war effort. Désy served as minister, later ambassador, to Brazil. Kirkwood was sent as consul to Greenland, of strategic importance to the allies because of its cryolite mines, then was transferred to Argentina as first secretary. Vanier served as minister to the Allied Governments-in-exile in London, returning triumphantly to France after the liberation. Rive spent his war at a desk in Ottawa, working on matters concerning prisoners of war and interned civilians. No doubt the thought crossed his mind that he was fortunate to have escaped their fate. ◆

Frederick J. McEvoy lives in Gloucester, Ontario. His most recent article for "The Beaver" was an account of the life and work of scientist and inventor Reginald Fessenden in the June/July issue.

The Plague Wind

John Ruskin and Dr. Rae Discuss the Weather, 1884

By Graham MacDonald

Of all the great Victorians, John Ruskin was perhaps the greatest, if the sheer bulk of his writings is taken as a measure. Few have fallen from grace so quickly. Art critic and historian Sir Kenneth Clark observed that the publication of the thirty-nine volume Library Edition of Ruskin's works, between 1903 and 1912, seems to have coincided with the onset of the eclipse of his fame. The reasons for this decline in reputation were well explained by Clark. Those reasons substantially concern the moralizing which marks Ruskin's style, combined with his progressive inability to concentrate on the topic at hand, particularly in the years after 1870. It is difficult for late twentieth-century readers coming to Ruskin for the first time to imagine his great popularity in his own day. "For almost fifty years", says Clark "to read Ruskin was accepted as proof of the possession of a soul." Ruskin's following was immense, and his influence on artistic and social thought was profound. His most intriguing apostle was undoubtedly the young Ghandi, but there were other notables such as Bernard Shaw, Marcel Proust, Sir Patrick Geddes, the early founders of the Labour Party in England, Frank Lloyd Wright, and perhaps even Mao Tse Tung. The Prime Minister, W.E. Gladstone, apparently wished to make him poet laureate, but this was impossible as Ruskin was by then quite out of his mind. The great art critic's popularity in the last half of the nineteenth century derived from the preference that many a Victorian had for a good sermon served up in well-crafted prose. With Ruskin, one was seldom left wanting for instruction on the moral road to be taken.

His mental health was already in decline in 1869 when he was appointed to the newly-created Slade Professorship of Art at Oxford University. Some excellent lectures on art emerged from the first few years of his residence at his old university, including the series *Aratra Pentelici*. It was an uneven performance however, and in 1884 he resigned, ostensibly over his views on vivisection, but more likely because he was aware, as were others, that his critical faculties were failing him. Five years later his pen fell still for good, even though Ruskin had yet to face an agonizingly long wait for death, which did not come until 1900.

Ruskin's literary output declined after 1874 and only a relatively few pieces from these last creative years still gain our unreserved admiration. Foremost among these is his last work, composed between 1885 and 1889, the lucid autobiography, *Praeterita*. In style, this last "music at the close" recaptured much of his early passion and capacity for honesty in description. But between 1870 and 1885 his other preoccupations were many and a source of bafflement to much of the public. Ruskin's attempt to foster a return to what he took to be medieval virtues through social experiments such as his St. George's Guild, can only cause us to smile today, as they must have then one of his students, the young Oscar Wilde. The social value of hard work was advanced in the Hinksey Road project, in which members of the guild attempted to actually build a road. Ruskin himself did not fail to see the humour and admitted that it was "probably the worst road in the three kingdoms". Years later, J.R. Whitehouse remarked that:

> The Oxford Road failed, partly because of the soil, partly because of the laziness of the undergraduates, and partly because Mr. Oscar Wilde would insist on stopping and lecturing upon the beauties of the colour of the soil that turned up.

Little was beyond Ruskin's interest, although his mastery of contemporary theories of science was wanting. His conclusions could be as perplexing and odd as the titles he chose for his publications. While Ruskin's interests were wide-ranging, his abilities in science were largely on the observation side. He was generally hostile to abstract theory in most matters, scientific or otherwise. As an observer of fact, however, he had few to rival him, and when he came to compose some of his late lectures he was able to draw on a lifetime of observation and field notes.

It was Ruskin's presentation of a public lecture in 1884 at the Royal Institution entitled *The Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century*, which became the occasion

Sunset at Abbeville, 1868.

for an exchange of letters between Ruskin and Dr. John Rae, the famous arctic explorer and employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. Since about 1870 Ruskin had become convinced that European weather patterns had changed radically during the nineteenth century. As an admirer and critic of many of the great landscape artists, Ruskin had for many years made notes on what he took to be nature's great, but ordered, variety. This naturally included cloud formations.

It was his defence of that most cloud-preoccupied painter, J.M.W. Turner which first put Ruskin before the public. This came in volume one of his magnum opus, *Modern Painters*, published in 1843. The British historian Peter Quennell has noticed the role of romantic sensibility in Ruskin's early works, and how this sensibility derived from an intense scrutiny of nature. "No reader," said Quennell, "who turned to his description of clouds [could ever] doubt that he had heard a new voice". These descriptions were given painstakingly and minutely, yet with intense poetic feeling:

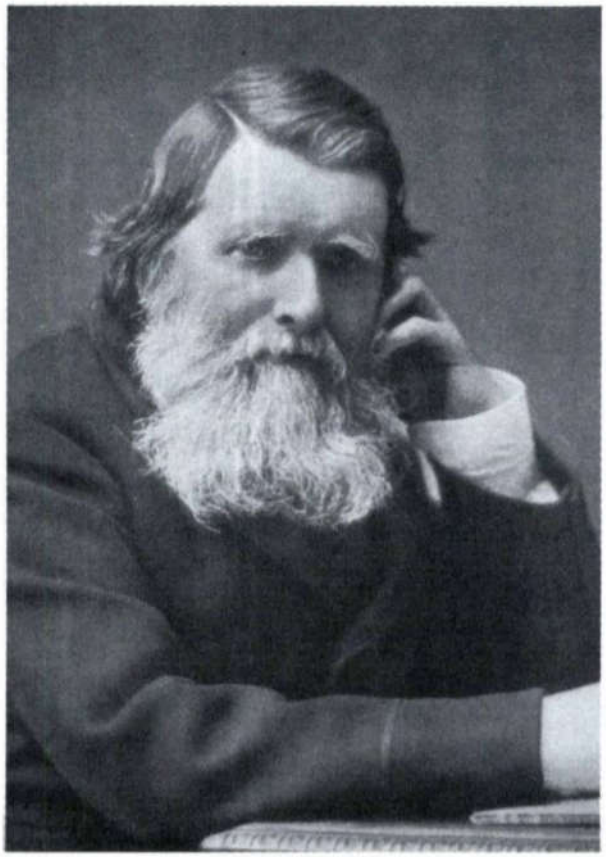
> the colossal mountains of grey cumulus, through whose shadowed sides a sunbeam strikes: the quiet multitudes of the white, soft, silent cirrus: those mighty watch-towers of vapour whence waving curtains of opaque rain are let down into the valleys, swinging. . .in black bending fingers, or pacing in pale columns along the lake level, grazing its surface into foam as they go.

Ruskin's interest in clouds went back a long way into his youth and were not just an eccentric product of his old age.

Ruskin made his first public statement concerning this perceived change in the weather in the first issue of that most astonishing of all his works, *Fors Clavigera*, the massive series of open letters to the "Working Men of England". It was here that he introduced the darkest of all his images concerning the new pattern in the climate: the birth of the "plague wind":

> The first time I recognized the clouds brought by the plague wind as distinct in character was in walking back from Oxford . . . to Abingdon, in the early spring of 1871. . .

Ruskin recalled that "It is the first of July, and I sit down to write by the dismalest light that ever yet I wrote by: namely the light of this mid-summer morning in mid-England." He then went on to analyse the cloud cover:



John Ruskin, 1884.

> For the sky is covered with grey cloud; not rain-cloud, but a dry black veil which no ray of sunshine can pierce; partly diffused in mist, feeble mist, enough to make distance objects unintelligible, yet without any substance or wreathing or colour of its own. And everywhere the leaves of the trees are shaking fitfully, as they do before a thunderstorm; only not violently, but enough to show the passing to and fro of a strange, bitter, blighting wind. Dismal enough had it been the first morning of its kind that summer had sent. But during all this spring in London, and at Oxford, through meager March, through changelessly sullen April, through despondent May, and darkened June, morning after morning has come grey-shrouded thus.

Ruskin provided other examples from his records for his audience, and then declared:

> This wind is the plague wind of the eighth decade of years in the nineteenth century; a period which will assuredly be recognized in future meteorological history as one of phenomena hitherto unrecorded in the courses of nature, and characterized preeminently by the almost ceaseless action of this calamitous wind.

In keeping with the social moralist in him, Ruskin briefly introduced some suggestions on the character of this wind, as it occurred to him in the early 1870s when the Franco-Prussian War was raging and industrialism was proceeding apace:

> It looks partly as if it were made of poisonous smoke; very possibly it may be: there are at least two hundred furnace chimneys in a square of two miles on every side of me. But mere smoke would not blow to and fro in that wild way. It looks more to me as if it were made of dead men's souls — such of them as are not gone yet where they have to go, and may be flitting hither and thither, doubting themselves, of the fittest place for them.

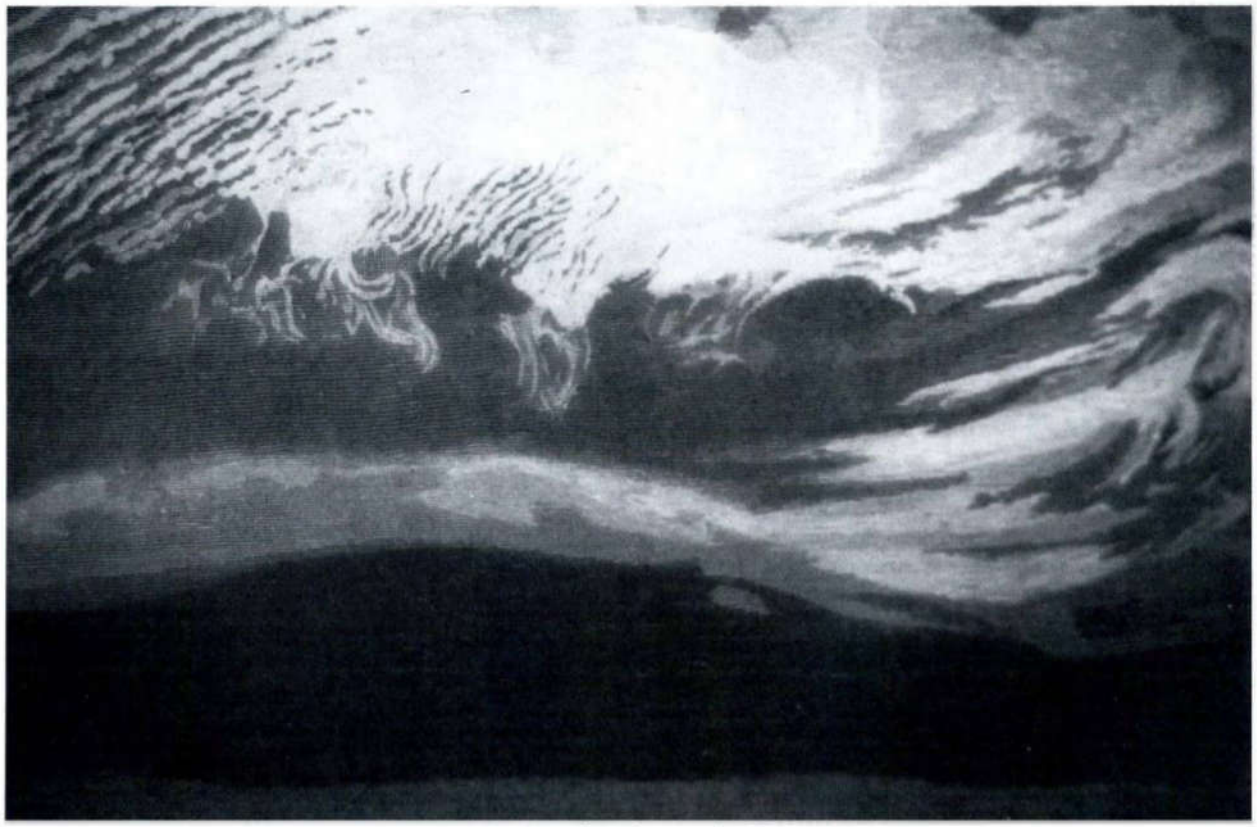
In order to persuade his audience further, Ruskin presented a series of pictures from his own hand and that of his relative, Arthur Severn. Through a sequence of pictures representing sunsets dating from the 1840s through the 1880s, Ruskin attempted to convince the assembly that Europe's weather was changing for the worse. The first illustration was a rerendering in colour by Wilson Barrett of a sketch made by Ruskin in 1868 near Abbeville. It "was a beautiful example of what, in fine weather about to pass into storm, a sunset could then be, in the districts of Kent and Picardy, unnaffected by smoke. . . All the illumined clouds are high in the air, and nearly motionless: beneath them, electric storm-cloud rises in a threatening cumulus on the right, and drifts in dark flakes across the horizon, casting from its broken masses radiating shadows on the upper clouds."

There is yet a third type of cloud in this illustration:

> But now note, there is another kind of cloud, pure white, and exquisitely delicate; which acts not by reflecting, nor by refracting, but, as it is now called, diffracting, the sun's rays. The particles of this cloud are said. . . to send the sunbeams around them instead of through them; somehow or other, at any rate, they resolve them into their prismatic elements; and then you have literally a kaleidoscope in the sky, with every colour of the prism in absolute purity.

Ruskin then turned to a picture "enlarged admirably by Mr. Arthur Severn from my sketch of the sky in the aftenoon of the 6th of August, 1880, at Brantwood, two hours before sunset." Brantwood was Ruskin's estate in the Lake District. He went on to give his listeners a perspective on the viewpoint of this picture:

> You are looking west by north, straight towards the sun, and nearly straight towards the wind. From the west the wind blows fiercely towards you out of the blue sky. Under the blue space is a flattened dome of earth-cloud clinging to, and altogether masking



An August sky at Brantwood, 1880.

the form of, the mountain, known as the Old Man of Coniston.

Seated in the audience and unknown to Ruskin was Dr. John Rae, the Hudson's Bay Company figure and High Arctic explorer. Ruskin's discussion at this point was of particular interest to Dr. Rae, and it introduced the topic which would prompt him to write a letter to the art critic. The lecture devolved now on the relationship of certain kinds of clouds to ice-crystals.

This second picture was reproduced in black and white, and Ruskin went to some length to explain the reason for this:

> . . .here observe that while my first diagram did with some adequateness represent to you the colour facts there spoken of, the present diagram can only explain, not reproduce them. . .in the case of the phenomena now under your attention, the colours are all brighter than pure white — the entire body of the cloud in which they show themselves being white by transmitted light. . .Only artificial, and very high illumination would give the real effect of them — painting cannot.

Ruskin provided more detail on the complexity and physical circumstances of this cloud scene:

> The top of that dome of cloud is two thousand eight hundred feet above the sea, the mountain two thousand six hundred, the cloud lying two hundred feet deep on it. Behind it, westward and seaward, all's clear; but when the wind out of that blue clearness comes over the ridge of the earth-cloud, at that moment and that line, its own moisture congeals into these white, I believe, ice-clouds. . .

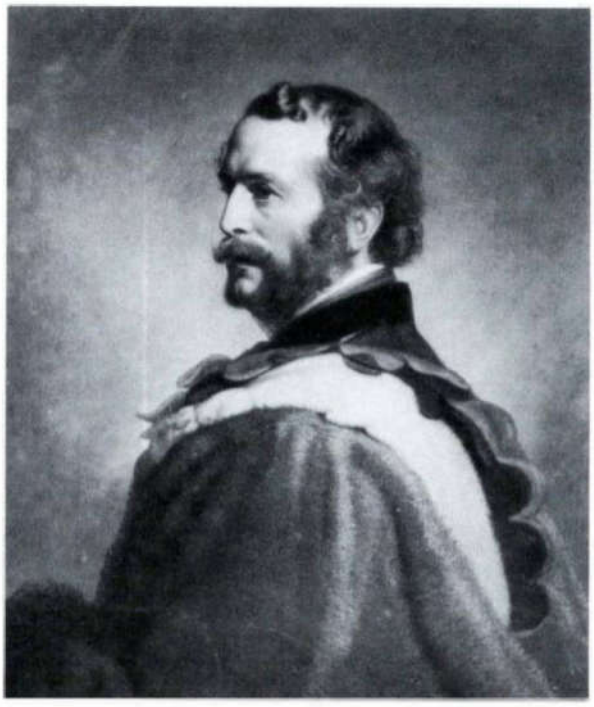
Two very different sets of atmospheric conditions were being described by Ruskin in pictures one and two:

> Enough, however, is here done to fix in your minds the distinction between those two species of cloud; — one, either stationary, or slow in motion, reflecting unresolved light; the other fast-flying, and transmitting resolved light.

At this point in his lecture Ruskin had asked his listeners to understand the relevance of "prismatic light" in the formation of certain types of sunset, and ice-crystals as the basis of such prismatic light, as opposed to the more familiar concept of mist:

> What difference is there in the nature of the atoms, between these two kinds of clouds? I leave the question with you for today, merely hinting to you my suspicion that the prismatic cloud is of finely comminuted water or ice, instead of aqueous vapor; but

Dr. John Rae at Repulse Bay, 1846. From a painting for the Hudson's Bay Company, 1932, by Charles A. Comfort.



Hudson's Bay Company

Dr. John Rae, from a painting by Stephen Pearce, 1858.

> the only clue I have to this idea is in the purity of the rainbow formed frost mist, lying close to water surfaces. Such mist, however, only becomes prismatic as common rain does, when the sun is behind the spectator while prismatic clouds are, on the contrary, always between the spectator and the sun.

From here Ruskin embarked on one of his typical digressions in order to chastise some of the leading scientists of the day, particularly John Tyndall, for what he took to be their imperfect characterizations of light mechanics. Upon returning to the topic at hand, Ruskin provided his audience with yet other illustrations in order to "complete the representation of states of weather undefiled by plague cloud."

While Ruskin completed his talk, John Rae was undoubtedly pondering Ruskin's observations about ice-crystals and clouds. A few weeks later Ruskin gave a second lecture which was more by way of a commentary on specific points made in the first. Concerning his discussion about the Brantwood picture of 1880, Ruskin noted:

> My impression that these clouds were glacial was at once confirmed by a member of my audience, Dr. John Rae, in conversation after the lecture, in which he communicated to me the perfectly definite observations which he has had the kindness to set down with their dates for me in the following letter:
>
> 4 Addison Gardens, Kensington, 4th Feb., 1884
>
> Dear Sir, — I have looked up my old journal of thirty years ago, written in pencil because it was impossible to keep ink unfrozen in the snow-hut in which I passed the winter of 1853-54, at Repulse Bay, on the Arctic Circle. On the first of February, 1854, I find the following:—
>
> "A beautiful appearance of some cirrus clouds near the sun, the central part of the cloud being of a fine pink or red, then green, and pink fringe. This continued for about a quarter of an hour. The same was observed on the 27th of the month, but not so bright. Distance of clouds from sun, from 3 degrees to 6 degrees."
>
> "On the 1st February the temperature was 38 degrees below zero and on the 27th February, 26 degrees below.
>
> "On the 23rd and 30 (of March) the same splendid appearance of clouds as mentioned in last month's journal was observed. On the first of these days, about 10:30 a.m., it was extremely beautiful. The clouds were about 8 or 10 degrees from the sun, below him and slightly to the eastward, — having a green fringe all round, then pink; the center part at first green, and then pink, or red."
>
> The temperature was 21 degrees below zero, Fahrenheit.
>
> There may have been other colours — blue perhaps — but I merely noted the most prominent; and what I call green may have been bluish, although I do not mention this last colour in my notes.
>
> From the lowness of the temperature at the time, the clouds must have been frozen moisture.

John Ruskin at Brantwood, 1881. From a watercolour by W.G. Collingwood.

The phenomenon is by no means common, even in the Arctic zone.

The second beautiful cloud-picture shown this afternoon brought so visibly to my memory the appearance seen by me as above described, that I could not avoid remarking upon it.

Believe me very truly yours,
John Rae (M.D., F.R.S.)

The gist of the dialogue between Rae and Ruskin concerned the general existence of certain types of cloud and light effects brought on by those conditions in which ice-crystals define the cloud cover. In the late 1980s scientific investigation of the ozone layer has focused attention on atmospheric conditions over the poles. Fred Pearce in his interesting discussion of the manner in which the hole in the ozone layer was documented in 1987, confirms some of the observations made by the two Victorians. In his book *Turning Up the Heat*, Pearce tells us:

> The winter air high above the Antarctic is just about the coldest place on Earth. With the Sun out of sight for four months, the temperature of the air at around ten kilometres up, at the bottom of the stratosphere, plunges to below minus 90°C. The air forms a swirling vortex that sits high above the freezing continent. It is so cold that it can hold virtually no moisture. What moisture there is turns to tiny ice crystals which form an eerie blanket of translucent cloud.

It is not easy to document the precise kind of image described by Rae, but a painting executed by Lawren Harris during his arctic voyage of 1930, may be somewhat representative. It shows cirrus clouds modified by reds, or pinks, and greens, painted in the vicinity of Baffin Island.

One would need to consult such detailed records of the weather as may exist in the mid and later nineteenth century in order to gauge just how much there was to Ruskin's contention that meteorological conditions were undergoing a radical change. It may indeed be that, in this still pre-electrification period, the mounting pace of coal-fired industrial facilities had taken its toll on traditional cloud and wind patterns. It may also be, as Peter Morton asserts in his *The Vital Science*, that *The Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century* was more of a reflection of Ruskin's preoccupation with his passage into insanity. And yet, it can be seen that Ruskin still knew how to hold the attention of a large and respectable audience, and that he could elicit responses from some of the best minds of the day. His ability to make fine distinctions about what he was seeing and describing was still at a very high level in this lecture, and if he was unduly harsh on some of his contemporary scientific friends, this was not uncharacteristic of Ruskin. ♦

Graham MacDonald is a Winnipeg heritage consultant and a frequent contributor to "The Beaver".

A Man to Remember

By Tom Saunders

COLONEL JAMES WALKER
Man of the Western Frontier

By Grant MacEwan. Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1989. 171 pp., illus. $15.95.

Grant MacEwan is a popular, rather than an academic, historian. His real forte, however, is that he spins a good yarn. He records conversations that are true to the spirit of his characters, but for which there can be no sure confirmation. Yet he never takes liberties with historical fact. It is a technique that brings history wonderfully alive and has rescued for us some memorable characters. Not least is the man who is the subject of this book.

Not many present-day Canadians, outside of Calgary, may know the name of James Walker. It is possible that even to some Johnny-come-latelies in Calgary his name is unknown. Yet, in 1975, when that city celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its founding as a North West Mounted Police post, it named James Walker its Citizen of the Century. It has been left to Grant MacEwan to tell us why. It makes a great yarn.

In typical MacEwan fashion the story begins with Walker's parents in Scotland discussing their upcoming marriage and their plans as to how and where they will spend their lives. The year is 1835, and they have saved enough money to emigrate to Canada, with a little left over to get them started on a new life in a new land. They settle in the Carluke area near Hamilton, and MacEwan paints a vivid picture of these early settlers clearing the hardwood forest and building the log house that was to be their first home. Here their children were born, including their son James.

Perhaps by inclination, but also perhaps because of the nature of the times, young Walker, while still in his teens, showed a keen interest in the military as well as in farming. His father had served on the government side in the 1837 rebellion; young James was to volunteer for service against the Fenians. He showed further interest in the mil-

Colonel James Walker

itary by attending training sessions in Toronto and at the Gunnery School at Kingston where he came to the attention of the commanding officer, Colonel George French.

But other events were taking place in Canada at that time. In the West, the "postage stamp" province of Manitoba had been created in 1870, and there had been trouble there. There was also trouble further west in the North-West Territories. Much of this was caused by the sale of illicit liquor, especially from the American side of the border, to Indians. To help combat the problem, the government in Ottawa decided to set up a form of mounted constabulary. The North-West Mounted Police Act was presented as a bill to Parliament in May 1873, but the Order-in-Council necessary to activate its provisions was not forthcoming until the fall of that year when news reached Ottawa of the massacre of a number of Assiniboine Indians in the Cypress Hills, in what is now southern Saskatchewan. Charged with the crime was a group of whisky traders from Benton, Montana.

On the heels of this, the government decided to act. Colonel French was named the first commissioner of the new North West Mounted Police force and one of his first recruits was James Walker to whom he offered the position of sub-inspector. After consultation with his family, Walker accepted. It was the most important decision he was to make in his life.

The story of the long trek west by the first contingents of the North West Mounted Police to establish law and order in the North-West Territories is one of the epics of Canadian history, and Grant MacEwan tells it well. The first contingent traveled west by the Canadian route in the fall of 1873, reaching Manitoba by freeze-up. They wintered at Lower Fort Garry. The second contingent (to which Walker had been assigned) did not leave until the following spring. They used the American route, traveling (without uniforms, in bond and by train) via Chicago, to St. Paul; and on foot to Fort Dufferin, near the present site of Emerson, Manitoba, some sixty miles south of Winnipeg. There they met the contingent that had wintered at the Lower Fort.

Here a near calamity occurred. A severe electrical storm hit the fort late one evening and the horses (some 250 of them) stampeded and headed for the United States. The man who prevented what would have been a tremendous embarrassment to the new force — *i.e.*, losing its

horses to the Americans — was James Walker. He managed to corral one of the animals, mounted it and galloped with the pack until it stopped, exhausted, many miles into North Dakota. He turned the animals around and was on his way back to Fort Dufferin when he was met by other members of the force who had set out at daylight. By the time he returned he had ridden some sixty miles.

When the force finally left Fort Dufferin it must have been an imposing sight (if there had been anyone there to see it), with the men now clad in their distinctive uniforms. MacEwan describes it thus: "When drawn into marching formation, the cavalcade reached for two miles . . . Officers and mounted men now numbered 318, with 310 horses, 142 work oxen, 93 cattle for slaughter if beef was needed, 114 loaded Red River carts, 73 wagons, 20 Métis drivers . . . two 9-pound field guns, two mortars, and various pieces of agricultural machinery."

One of their main objectives was Fort Whoop-Up (near the present site of Lethbridge), which had been built originally as Fort Hamilton in 1869. It had been a main centre of the illicit whisky trade from south of the border but had been destroyed by the Blackfoot soon after it was built. In 1870, however, it had re-emerged as Fort Whoop-Up and had become a bigger menace than ever. The Mounties took Fort Whoop-Up without trouble, but only after a long, slow march (determined by the pace of the oxen) before they reached their destination in Blackfoot territory, after much suffering and hardship.

Some of the force remained there while others went to establish posts elsewhere. James Walker was with the contingent that was ordered to travel back through the Qu'Appelle Valley and north to Swan River, Manitoba (between the Duck and the Riding Mountains). After establishing a post there, he returned to Fort Dufferin, before heading west again to Battleford and eventually to Fort Calgary.

He describes the country through which he traveled in these words: "You saw much more than you will ever forget. You saw grasshoppers coming in clouds like snow in a blizzard, devouring every green thing where they landed, even the leaves on the trees. You saw desert conditions where you didn't expect to see them. You saw parklike settings in the Qu'Appelle Valley equalling the best you've seen in the natural state anywhere. You saw poor and rocky soils, and you saw what may prove to be the best you'll find anywhere. And you saw buffalo herds so big that your accounts of them will seem unbelievable."

For this reviewer, the description of the great western trek is the highlight of the book. But there is more. After six years with the force, during which time he rose to the rank of superintendent and took time off to get married, James Walker managed a cattle ranch for a couple of years before settling down as a farmer on the banks of the Bow River at Fort Calgary — his peace disturbed only by fears generated by the North West Rebellion. As part payment for his services on the ranch, he asked for — and received — a small sawmill which the ranch operated. In time he added to the original mill so that he could produce shingles and other types of building material; and he became, in addition, a pioneer in agricultural experimentation.

His greatest impact, however, was in public service. The author sums up this aspect of his life in these words: "He made and furnished lumber for a generation of eager builders, fathered a town before it was incorporated, acted as a school trustee before there even was a school, and served as a one-man hospital board before there was a hospital." He continued to be active in civic enterprises all through his life.

And, at age 68, he had not yet done with military service. Still connected with the militia, he took a reduction in rank and wangled his way into the Forestry Corps, serving not only in Canada but in Great Britain and France. (Here the author gives us a picture of the changes that had occurred in Calgary up to this point: "Walker's Calgary, which had a population of five hundred prior to incorporation in 1884, had four thousand people by the beginning of the new century, fifty thousand when he went to World War I, and sixty thousand when he came home." Calgary was already well on its way to becoming the metropolis it is today.)

During his lifetime Walker had many honours conferred upon him. He even had a mountain named after him in 1977. He died in 1936, just before his ninetieth birthday. He was the last surviving officer of the first detachment of the North West Mounted Police and the longest-serving militia officer in Canada. And he was the prime mover in establishing Calgary's Agricultural Fair, forerunner of the Calgary Stampede.

James Walker was a man who deserved a good yarn, and Grant MacEwan has given it to us. But this book tells us more than the story of James Walker — it tells the story of his times and the country that made him, as he helped make it.

Tom Saunders is a former literary editor of the "Winnipeg Free Press".

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A People and the Land

By Boyce Richardson

GHOST CAMPS
Memory and Myth
on Canada's Frontier

By Stephen Hume. NeWest Press, Edmonton, 1989. 276 pp., maps. $14.95 (paper), $24.95 (cloth).

A year or two ago when the Glenbow Museum's controversial exhibition *The Spirit Sings* opened in Ottawa, an article denouncing it appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen*. The argument advanced was not only cogent, but extremely eloquent. Yet these admirable qualities were not what made this article so unusual. Added to its cogency and eloquence was a passion so rare in Canadian journalism that I marvelled that such an article was ever accepted for publication. I had never before heard of the writer, and wondered where he had so suddenly sprung from.

I had never heard of the writer of *Ghost Camps*, either, when I began to read this book. But after the first four or five chapters I was surprised that such a book could have been published last year without having propelled its author into national celebrity. I did not have to read much further to discover that the author of the book, and the author of the *Citizen* article are one and the same, Stephen Hume, for Chapter Six of the book is an extended version, under the title *The Spirit Weeps*, of the article I had so admired.

The book tells us that Stephen Hume is a journalist who became the general manager of the *Edmonton Journal* after working for that newspaper for 16 years. I may have unreasonable pre-conceptions, but I do not associate with business managers, even of newspapers, the kind of profound insights, powerful commitment, and fearless expression of opinions, that Hume exhibits in this book.

Indeed, the first 90 pages are extremely moving in their evocation of the peoples and land of Northern Canada, and along with the splendid writing comes a cascade of insights that make the reader sit up with a jolt every few minutes. The opening chapter is a superb description of a wonderful old Inuit woman and the extraordinary Arctic landscape with which she is totally identified.

Here Hume tells us about the Inuit myth of Sedna, a maimed goddess, from whose severed fingers all sea creatures are descended. "... because the living creature is connected to Sedna, the decision of every hunter to kill a seal may be seen as symbolizing the decision of humanity to maim her again. So the great goddess suffers continually at our hands, is wounded anew as human beings take their sustenance from the animals which embody her spirit. Thus are we linked to the natural world by the damage we impose upon it. The corollary is a powerful obligation to minimize harm. . ."

Hume says that this is "a sophisticated and morally compelling view of man's complex relationship with the environment." That observation in itself is noteworthy; but he brings its meaning home to us powerfully when he adds that, by comparison, the rest of Canadian society appears spiritually stunted, "oblivious to any concept of a contract between ourselves and the natural order." When he places the argument in this context, the list he then produces of the horrors we have visited on the natural world from one coast to the other seem all the more indefensible, all the more the product of a twisted and corrupted national attitude towards life.

Hume then deals with Samuel Hearne's remarkable achievements, paying homage to the part played in them by the native people who led him across their country. He praises Hearne's acceptance of and respect for native perceptions about the land, which alone enabled him to survive the remarkable journeys. But he warns us not to romanticize the past, whether native or non-native, and in illustration describes a Dogrib massacre of the Yellowknifes in 1823. He balances this with an account of the appalling Cypress Hills massacre in 1873 of an Assiniboine party by a group of European raiders, an event, he claims, that marked the beginning of the nation of Canada.

It is not just the information he presents which makes these chapters so readable: he succeeds also in establishing a sense of place so strong that one begins to feel that even remote places like the High Arctic and Cypress Hills are somehow at the centre of the world. "Even beneath the heavy overcast which accompanies my visit," he writes of the October day on which he sought out the coulee of the Cypress Hills massacre, "the grassy hillsides deflect enough indirect sun that the valley seems to have a luminous quality of its own. It is the loveliest of places, pale branches in the groves and withered grasses in the meadows, all silvered with condensation. One can imagine the feelings of long-dead riders, arriving here after the summer's trek across the baking prairies, saying to themselves, 'This is it. This is the place.'"

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The subtitle of this book is "Memory and myth on Canada's frontier." My dictionary defines myth as "a purely fictitious narrative usually involving supernatural persons, actions or events, *and embodying some popular idea concerning natural or historical phenomena*" (my emphasis). It is this latter sense in which one could say that literature or movies create myths. And my feeling about Stephen Hume's writing in much of this book is that his involvement with, and commitment to the place of Northern Canada lends to that place, as he describes it, something of the slightly mythological feeling created by much metropolitan literature (Dickens's London, Faulkner's South, are examples).

There is a process of validation in this which is of importance to the Canadian psyche. Surely many Canadians besides myself must have long ago wearied of the repeated, tiresome, statement (so often agreed to apologetically by Canadians themselves) that Canada is so dull that it is of no interest to anyone outside of the country.

Canada is not dull, and Canadian life is not boring. Hume proves this not only in his superb descriptions of the Northern landscape, his sensitive evocations of its peoples, but in later chapters in which he gives detailed journalistic descriptions of the heroics required by those who have found themselves in a tornado hitting Edmonton, a forest fire sweeping through the north, and a vicious storm off the Queen Charlottes. Not every nation has to confront nature so raw.

He pays tribute to past generations of miners who battled equally against coalface, company, government and the appalling dangers and difficulties of their work. And in face of this heroic past and the courage and steadfastness shown by so many people in contemporary life, he protests against those "powerful political interests that see no merit in the continuation of a distinct national identity if it should stand in the way of greater economic gain."

There are many nay-sayers about Canadian life; Stephen Hume rejects their negativism: "Canada's future lies in the understanding of its past and coalescing of a national vision around the events in the past which establish the icons of our moral landscape. Yet, which of those events are the important ones? .... Experience tells us that the bloodless abstracts of political life are frequently of less importance in determining the truth than the experiences of the inarticulate and the dispossessed."

This is an unusual and refreshing viewpoint among Canadian journalists and commentators, few of whom, it is fair to say, command the eloquence of Stephen Hume.

Though I recommend this book as certainly worth anyone's time, I do not feel it represents the best that this writer can do. There is a certain lack of unity in the subjects it deals with. Some of them — such as the description of how the *Edmonton Journal* covered the tornado, and the chapters on William Morrow and Stuart Hodgson — tend slightly towards boosterism, jarring somewhat with the profoundly philosophical tone of the opening chapters. Yet we should watch for this writer's future work. He has it in him to write a book that will make the nation pay attention. As Canada bogs down in uncertainty about its future, we need such insights as Stephen Hume is capable of to help rescue us from our national malaise, and validate for us the significance of what we are doing as we live out our lives on the landscape of this remarkable country.

Writer and film-maker Boyce Richardson lives in Ottawa. His article "Kind Hearts or Forked Tongues? The Indian Ordeal: A Century of Decline" appeared in the February/March 1987 issue of "The Beaver".

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Romance of the Fur Trade

By Peter C. Newman

THE MANAGER'S TALE

By Hugh Mackay Ross. Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., Winnipeg, 1989. 247 pp., illus. $27.95.

"I have often been asked," Hugh Mackay Ross writes in the introduction to this second volume of his memoirs, " 'if you had your life to live over again, would you still work for the Hudson's Bay Company?' My answer is always the same. Yes. If conditions were the same as in 1930. At that time, there was an aura of romance about the fur trade. We were fur traders, not storekeepers. We travelled by canoe and dogsled and we mainly lived off the country."

This gentle book of reminiscences is an expansion of that sentiment, a slow journey through a western and sub-Arctic Canada where the HBC's presence was high and proud, instead of the dreary if utilitarian Northern Stores (North West Company) merchandise units that now remain. It was only yesterday and yet the world Ross describes seems as ancient as Prince Rupert's England, Samuel Hearne's Fort Prince of Wales or Sir George Simpson's express canoe brigades.

This book is particularly useful because it documents the life of a store manager — his problems, small triumphs and touches of compassion — as opposed to the larger issues of head office or the more compelling tales of Indians and the fur trade. Ross writes about the legendary Ralph Parsons, last of the Fur Trade Commissioners; Bob Chesshire, who may well have been the most humane executive in all of the HBC's 320-year history; H.W. Sutherland, then general manager of the Northern Stores Department, who never lost the common touch.

But most of all he records the day to day events of running a store at Waterways, becoming manager of the Saskatchewan District and later working at the Company's Winnipeg head office. We also get a first hand account of what it was like to attend the HBC's Fur Training School in Montreal. The courses, lasting three months with half a dozen trainees at a time, taught the fine points of the trade. "I had only one hang-up — singe," Ross recalls. "Singe happens to otter and mink when they lie in the warm spring sun. The guard hairs are actually singed by the heat and hook over, something like a fishhook does. Otter singe I could see immediately, but singe in mink, especially the fine, dark eastern mink, I could not see. . . . Then one day, there it was. I wondered how I could have been so stupid as to have missed it for such a long time. The work was long, smelly and tedious but by the end of the course, I could pick up any skin, from a mink to a lynx, and tell not only its grade but what area of Canada it came from. In some cases I could recognize what post sent it in by the particular way the Indians had stretched the skin."

Becoming a good trader meant everything. Sometimes it even meant being a pool shark. At Waterways it was the custom for trappers to bring their catch to Bill Mitchell's pool parlour and then invite the two local free traders as well as Ross to come and bid. The successful bidder had to put cash on the table and tote the pelts back to his store. Ross had one great advantage over his competitors: he could play snooker. "Most of the trappers fancied themselves as masters of the game," he remembers, "and once I had become proficient, I challenged them: 'If you win you put your furs up for bids. If I win, you sell them to me'. The trappers thought this was a great laugh and took me on. But I won the right to buy their furs more often than not."

In 1948, after a long and successful stint as store manager, Ross was promoted to run the HBC's Saskatchewan District and charged with returning a 30 percent gross profit. His assignment was not only to produce a maximum of usable pelts but to keep his staff — and their wives — happy. When a Mrs. McKinley at Pelican Narrows complained about the monotonous colours of the inside of her Company residence, Ross allowed her to use any shade she wanted, and on his next visit walked into a living room with black ceiling, a foot-wide stripe of white around the top of the walls and the balance of the room painted pink. (Later Mrs. McKinley moved to Montreal Lake where she altered the colour scheme to a slightly more conservative mauve and yellow.)

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In a memorable anecdote, Ross gives as good a reason as any why the HBC earned its reputation as "the Honourable Company". When he was manager of the Saskatchewan District, Ross wanted to pension off a veteran trader named Jock Mathieson, who hadn't many years to go in the service anyway and seemed to be a stumbling block to his other personnel transfer plans. The Canadian Committee studied Ross's recommendation for Jock's dismissal and rejected it, mainly because his son was studying at the local school and it would have been a hardship to send the family where no school might be available. More to the point, the Committee concluded that Mathieson's abilities as a competent post manager had always been in doubt but no action had been taken during his 25 years with the Company; the fault therefore was the Company's and not Mathieson's and he was allowed to remain in the service until his retirement.

That was the tradition of fairness and humanity that Ross — and most of the rest of us — miss in today's business climate. When this old-timer read the news, on 31 January 1987 that Lord Thomson had sold the Northern Stores, he could not believe his eyes. "Thus," Ross notes, "was more than three hundred years of history, including the making of Western Canada, wiped out by a stroke of the pen, and the Hudson's Bay Company was out of the fur trade, the basis on which the Company was built. Where now was the great Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay?"

Hugh and Jane Ross.

Only in books like the *Manager's Tale* and we must all be grateful to Hugh Mackay Ross for having written it and to Watson & Dwyer for publishing it.

Peter C. Newman's latest book on the Hudson's Bay Company is "Empire of The Bay" published by Viking/Penguin in 1989.

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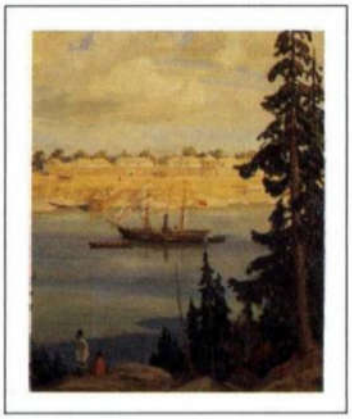

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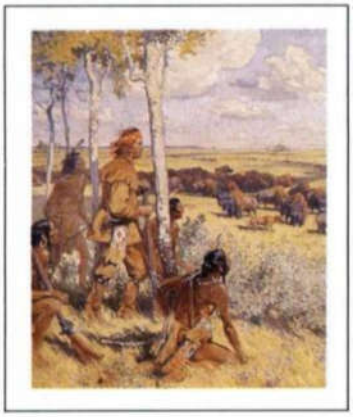

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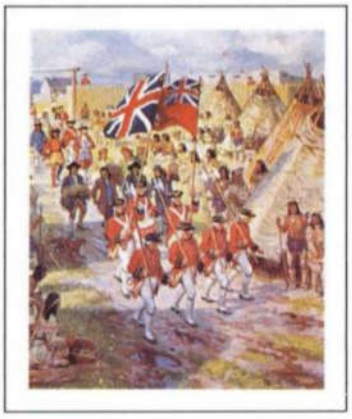

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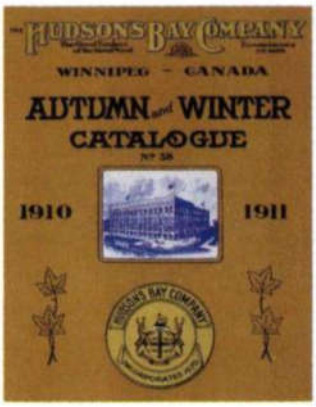

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THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

A Ghost in the Wilderness

Congratulations on "Revillon Man" by Professor R.H. Cockburn (*The Beaver,* February/March, 1990).

The mention of Fort Hall Lake in the article reminded me of my visit there in 1980, and of a question that has been on my mind ever since.

My canoeing partner Emiel Robertson and I were following P.G. Downes' route through the "Land of the Little Lakes" when we were excited to see the bleached and ancient Fort Hall trading post still standing. The living quarters were almost complete, with sand and moss still covering some of the roof-poles, and the beautifully-jointed heavy timbers of the front part still intact, although the roof had collapsed. I have often asked myself if Herbert Hall's post, which must be one of the last remote fur trading posts of the era still in existence, could be restored and preserved.

Professor Cockburn has elsewhere described Hall as "the most skilled and venturesome Barren Lands traveller of his generation" (footnotes to Downes' *Sleeping Island*), and as "the indefatigable Herbert" ("Voyage to Nutheltin", *The Beaver,* January/February 1986), and contemporary accounts show him to have been a man of extraordinary energy and abilities.

He came of good Company stock, his father being Chief Factor R.H. Hall and his mother, Rachel, the daughter of Chief Factor Ogden. Herbert Hall himself rose to be manager of the Western Arctic District, but always remained a somewhat unorthodox Company employee.

Harold Kemp, in *Northern Trader*, recalls meeting him early in the century at Prince Albert. "As a youngster, I never ceased to marvel at Herb Hall," he writes. "I saw him but once. He drove down with his dogs by way of Brochet and Pel-

ican Narrows, Cumberland House and The Pas. . . . He was an even bigger man than his father, dressed in moccasins, mackinaw trousers and a parka of caribou hide." Kemp describes the remoteness of the post at Fort Hall, and the tortuous return journey Hall would have, "forcing his trade goods through with a Chipewyan crew and his own tremendous energy".

Philip Godsell, who knew Hall when he was manager of the Western Arctic, recalls in *Arctic Trader* that "he slouched around in mukluks and ahtegi, and spent most of his time hunting seal". But Godsell was to learn of Hall's remarkable achievements, and elsewhere in the book writes quite a eulogy: "This curly-haired, good-natured giant who boasted native blood on his mother's side was really one of the finest travellers and explorers that the Arctic had ever seen. He had explored for the Hudson's Bay Company and carried their trade beyond the known frontiers of the Saskatchewan and Hudson Bay region. He could live, dress, and eat like an Eskimo; could thrive where others would starve, and endure, without complaint, hardships which few would care to face; but he hated books and despised discipline . . ."

Hall's close affiliation with the Inuit, however, was to cause him some problems. Godsell recalls that a Company employee complained that Hall "seemed to prefer the company of Eskimos to that of the white members of the staff, and the natives would often sit down at the table in the places set for the employees without anything being said." When two employees expressed themselves heatedly on the subject "the burly and good-natured Hall had merely laughed."

Godsell describes how, on a dog-sled journey with Hall over the Rocky Mountains, the lead team at one point disappeared in loose snow on a steep mountainside. Hall's quick reaction and great strength enabled him to seize the buried lead-dog and haul the team to safety seconds before an avalanche thundered down the mountainside. Hall himself wrote of the hardships of northern travel in the August 1923 edition of *The Beaver*. Severe blizzards during the winter of 1914-15 so delayed his party on the 500-mile mail packet journey from Chesterfield Inlet to Fort Churchill that starving and worn-out dogs had to be killed and fed to the rest of the team.

Alex Stevenson, an Eastern Arctic fur trader who later became a federal Arctic administrator, recalled Hall in an article in the Autumn 1975 edition of *The Beaver*. He describes him in the late 1930s, by then an independent trader, as "a giant of a man, over six feet tall and weighing nearly 300

pounds". He had recently been taken south for medical treatment for partial paralysis, but Stevenson writes that he "had been a powerful man and his feats of strength and endurance were legendary among the Eskimo people. It was said that in his prime he could lift a 45-gallon drum filled with gasoline from a scow onto a wharf". A 1937 photograph accompanying Stevenson's article shows a barrel-chested Hall looking fully capable of such a feat.

His trading post on Fort Hall Lake still stands today, over 80 years after he established it. I spoke recently with Pierre Besskaystare of Wollaston Lake, the Dene trapper on whose trapline the post stands, and he told me that it still remains today much as I saw it ten years ago.

As a tribute to a remarkable northerner, and as a reminder of a bygone fur trade era, it would be admirable if Fort Hall could be preserved for those of future generations who have an interest in and respect for our northern heritage.

Graham Guest, La Ronge, Saskatchewan

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Read these and other fascinating articles and reviews in the December/January issue of ***The Beaver.***

Donald B. Smith: Calgary Remembers

September 2, 1912, dawned a perfect day, warm, sunny, inviting. Nearly 100,000 Calgarians and out-of-town visitors crowded the city's downtown streets in anticipation of the first Calgary Stampede's great parade. To honour the city's frontier heritage four Alberta cattle-kings — Pat Burns, A.E. Cross, George Lane, and A.J. McLean — had financed a four-day rodeo, organized by the American promoter Guy Weadick, as a celebration of the ranchers' skills, games, and way of life.

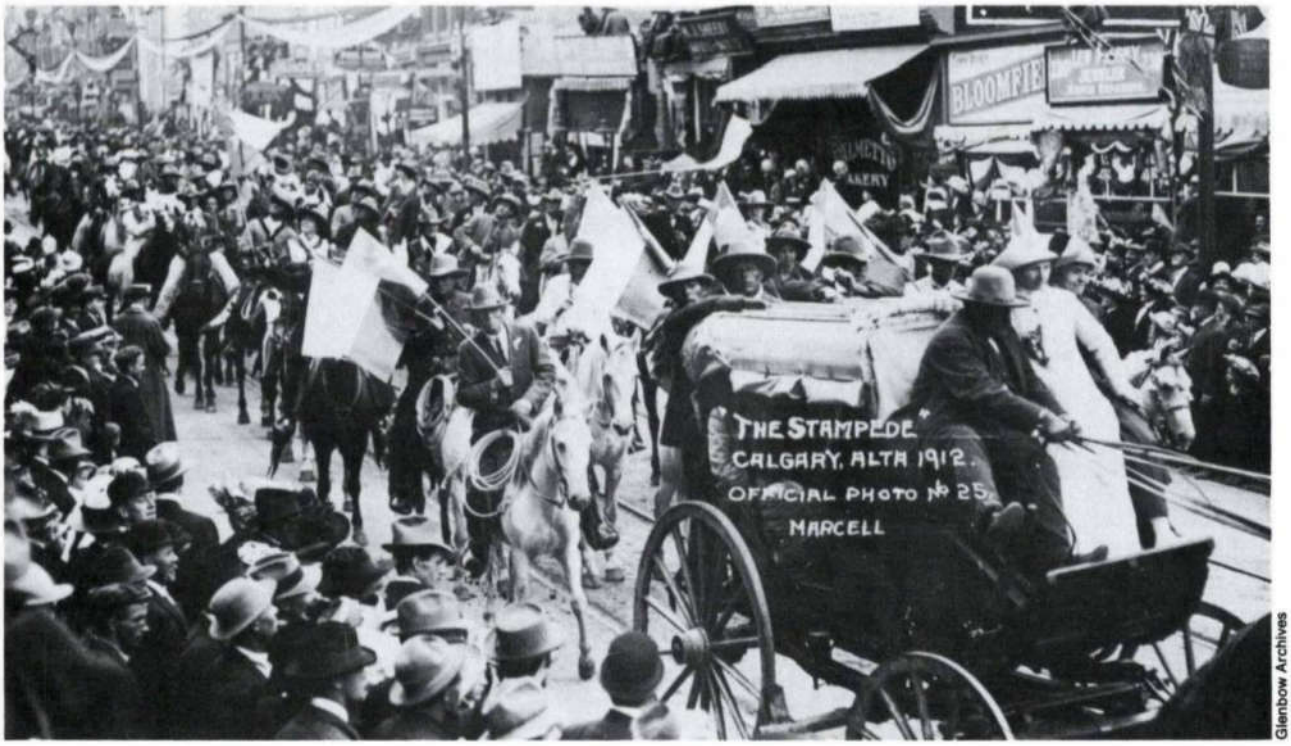
Milward Marcell, the Stampede's official photographer, selected a location by the newly-constructed Burns Building, on the south side of Eighth Avenue, immediately west of Second Street East (now Macleod Trail). His goal was to make commercial postcards. From his vantage-point the American photographer had a clear view of almost the entire north side of Eighth Avenue, from Jacob Diamond's store, to the Dominion Bank at the corner of First Street East.

In the 1990 Stampede Parade on 6 July two of Marcell's postcards returned, this time enlarged 1,500 times by computer, and printed on superflex, or all-weather plasticized canvas, by huge laser printers. The stores of 1912 (now levelled to make way for Calgary's Olympic Plaza), the original Parade, and an Eighth Avenue festooned with bunting and Union Jacks return to life.

Jay Joffe, a member of the Southern Alberta Pioneers and Their Descendants, had the creative idea of using two of Marcell's best photographs to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Pioneers (1890-1990), an organization to which the descendant of any southern Albertan who arrived before 1890 can belong. Jay's grandfather, Jacob Diamond, reached Calgary in 1888.

Thanks to the assistance of Kodak Canada and Hook Outdoor Advertising of Calgary, the two sponsors of the salute to the Pioneers, and to the Glenbow Archives which supplied diapositives (or transparencies) of the postcards, the Pioneers obtained the two 10′ by 20′ reproductions. The Pioneers' president, Ted Lee, in period costume, and his family accompanied the gigantic pictures. On 6 July 200,000 people viewed the billboard-sized photos carried on the huge frame built by the Pioneers' president and his sons-in-law for the Pioneers' Stampede wagon.

The crowded street scenes in the two photos bring back memories of Calgary's first boom. All over the city new homes and office buildings were springing up. It was a golden age for carpenters who earned 50 cents an hour, at a time when a pair of good quality shoes sold for $3.50 a pair, and a pound of bacon for 17



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cents. In only twelve years the city's population had grown from 4,000 in 1900, to over 43,000. Already Calgary had its first skyscraper, the Grain Exchange, with its second, the Palliser Hotel, well on its way.

The image on the left of the Pioneers' float showed, what was in 1912, the past. An old trading wagon appears, drawn by a sixteen yoke of oxen. Behind the bull train rides Colonel James Walker of Calgary and eight other original members of the NWMP's march westward in 1874. Colleagues of these grey-haired veterans had founded the police post of Fort Calgary in 1875. One of Calgary's NWMP founders, George King, rode that morning beside James Walker.

The image on the right of the float revealed the present — the tough, lean bronco-twisters, ropers, and bull-doggers, who had come from all parts of Western Canada, the American West, and even distant Mexico. Just behind the stagecoach appear the Texans on horseback carrying their state flag, followed by the Oklahomans. Joe Gardner of Sierra Blanco, Texas, a champion steer-roper rode in the Texan contingent. Oklahoma's delegation included Lucille Mulhall, billed as the only woman in the world capable of roping, throwing and tying a steer.

What thoughts, I wonder, raced through Jacob Diamond's head that morning as he stood in front of his liquor store (marked by the barrel sign on the extreme right, by the stagecoach) with his daughters Hattie and Rose. Born in Russia he had come to Calgary via Ontario in 1888. Although he arrived thirteen years after the NWMP founded the police post, he was still in time to see the last bull trains in use on their way to Fort Macleod. The fifty-year old merchant had lived to see paved streets, streetcars, a bustling city, and for the first time that morning he heard Calgary's new Stampede trademark, "Whoooopee-ee-eeee".

Milward Marcell himself stayed in Calgary for two more years. Finally an economic depression which hit the city with a vengeance in 1913, forced him to leave. It is unknown if Marcell ever returned to Calgary. But hundreds of his professional colleagues did in February 1988, and they came to the site of his Stampede Parade photos, now Calgary's Olympic Plaza, to shoot the Calgary Winter Olympics medal presentation ceremonies. By a strange coincidence the Visitor Information Centre of the Calgary Convention and Visitors Bureau now stands at the most probable spot from which Milward Marcell took his striking photographs 78 years ago this year.

Donald B. Smith teaches Canadian history at the University of Calgary.

The Day the Great Duke Died

George McElroy's article on the death of the Duke of Richmond [*The Beaver*, June/July 1990] I found very interesting, having visited the village named for him several times in my early Ottawa days. He is in error, though, about the date of the duke's death.

I have a photocopy of a page from the *Kingston Chronicle* dated September 3, 1819. All the articles on that page were bounded with thick (4 mm) black borders as a token of mourning for the "Governor General of His Majesty's North American Dominions." The date of his death is given as "on Saturday the 28th ultimo." As the newspaper appeared weekly on Fridays, this was the first issue to follow his death. I am sure that other newspapers of the day in Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and York — if copies are still extant — would bear similar news and date of death.

I happened to have this particular issue of the *Chronicle* as it also carried news of the tragic drowning of ten youths in the Hay Bay, Adolphustown township. That story is part of the history of the Hay Bay Methodist Church built in 1792, and soon to celebrate its bicentennial.

I greatly appreciate *The Beaver*, and have in mind an article dealing with the visit to England in 1836-37 of Shah-wun-dais, or Rev. John Sunday. Sunday was a Methodist minister, a Mississauga from the Belleville tribe. (See *DCB*, X-647). This section of his life has never been chronicled. I had occasion to research the press notices of his visit in that year, which recorded a speechless awe of his many "artless" presentations to Missionary Society meetings around the country. He fitted their fantasy of a converted aboriginal person better than the more articulate Peter Jones (so well chronicled by Donald B. Smith), who had toured England earlier. I find no record of his having been received by Queen Victoria, who was in 3 months court mourning during his last few months there. His visit to Lord Glenelg, on the other hand, and his plea for Indian land claims (what's new?), created an interesting furor in the press.

By the way, my wife and I howled with laughter at Jack Davidson's record of our nation's spasmodic ambles along the pathway of symbolic imagery.

J. William Lamb,
Islington, Ontario.

Richmond, U.S.A.

The article in *The Beaver* for June/July, "The Strange Death of the Duke of Richmond" (who was the fourth Duke Charles of Richmond and Lennox), was particularly interesting to me, here in Berkshire County, Massachusetts. In this county several towns are named after places in England, such as is my town of Stockbridge.

Contiguous to Stockbridge on the north are the towns of Richmond and Lenox (with one n), both named

for the third Duke of Richmond and Lennox, uncle of the subject of your article.

The area now embraced by these two towns, originally called Yokuntown and Mount Ephraim, after two Indian sachems, was purchased from them about 1762. A ridge of steep hills separated the east and west portions of the tract, and later the two distinct areas became the separate towns of Richmond on the west and Lenox on the east, incorporated as such in 1765 and 1767, respectively.

They were so named in honour of the third Duke Charles because he had vigorously supported the efforts of the American colonists to secure their freedom from the mother country, Great Britain. In the House of Lords he had remarked, "I wish from the bottom of my heart that the Americans may resist and get the better of the forces sent against them."

The successive dukes enjoyed as a hunting lodge that classic structure called Goodwood, near Chichester in West Sussex. Perhaps that is why, as mentioned in the article, the Jock River was also known as Goodwood River.

Gerard Chapman,
Stockbridge, Mass.

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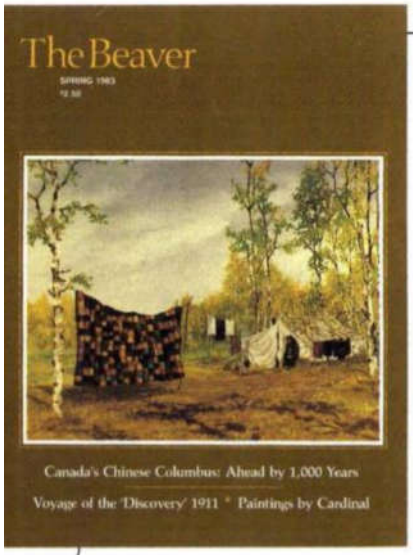

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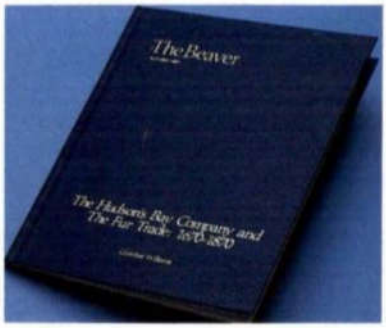

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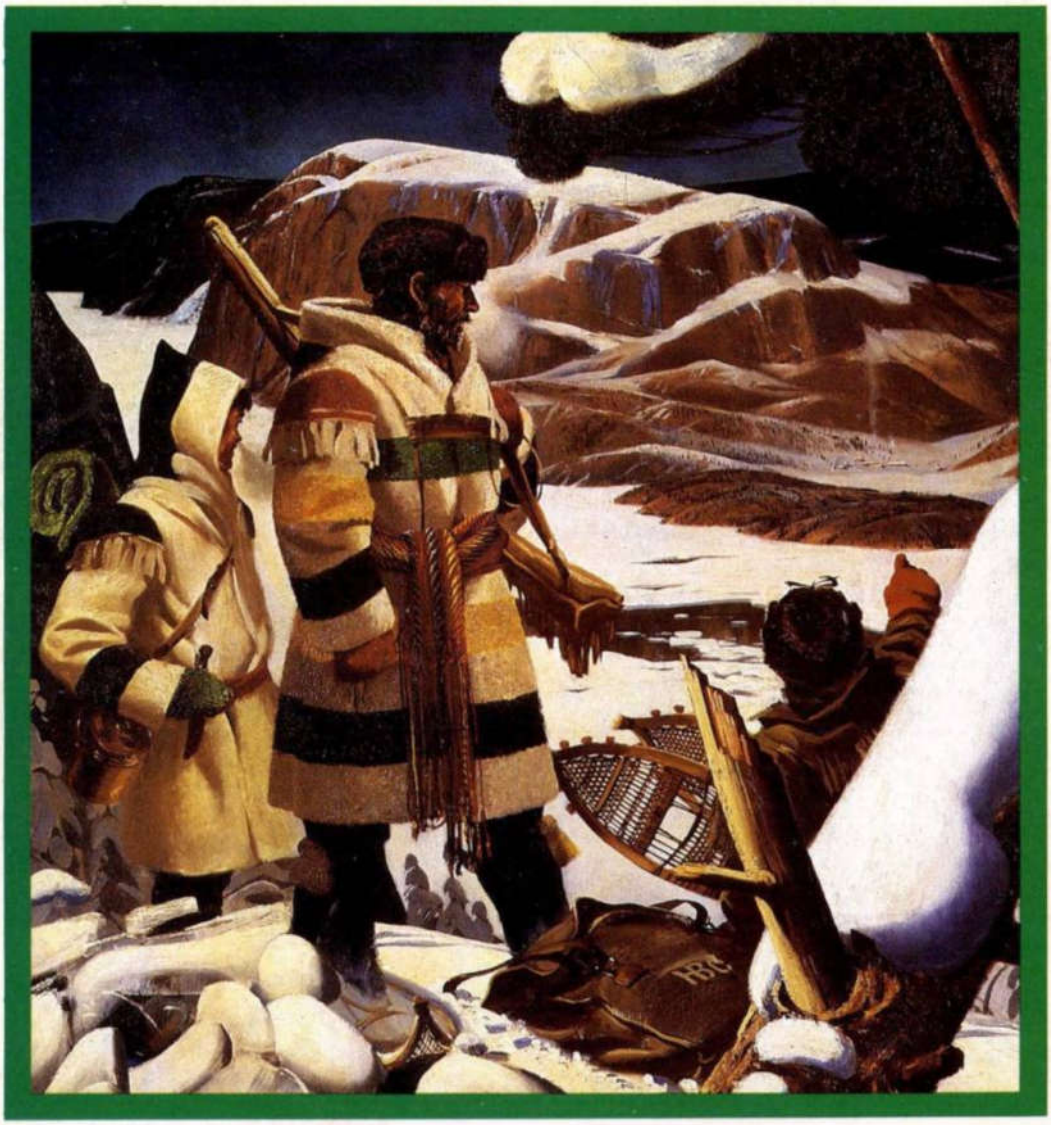

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